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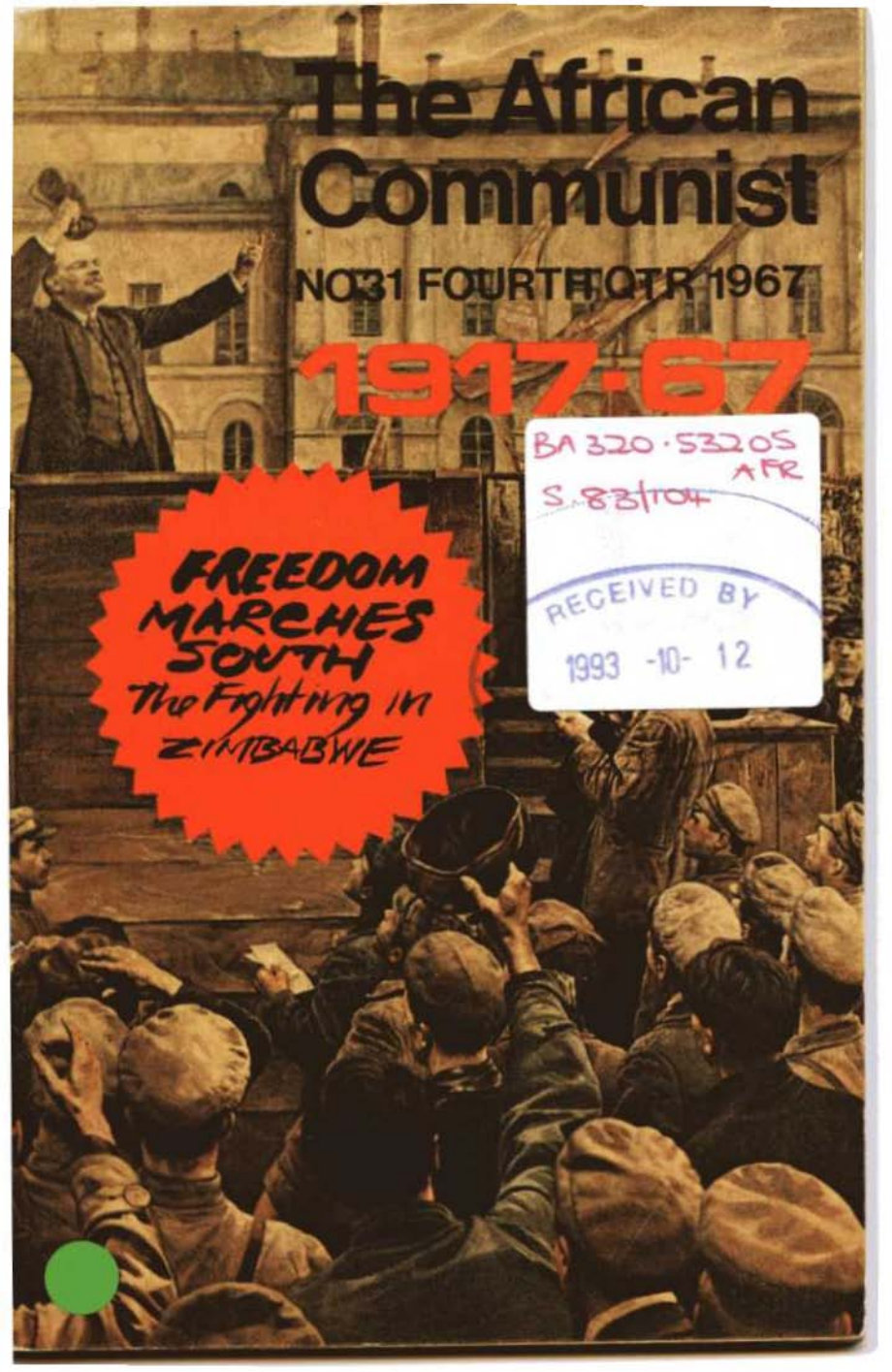
FREEDOM MARCHES SOUTH

The Fighting in Zimbabwe



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Editorial Notes:

FREEDOM MARCHES SOUTH

The Fighting in Zimbabwe

. . . as comrades-in-arms, we are facing a common enemy, fighting a common purpose, facing a common fate. Hence, a combined force for a common onslaught against the enemy at every point of encounter as we march down for the liberation of our respective countries.

JOINT STATEMENT of the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
and the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLE'S UNION,
August 19th, 1967.

BEGINNING ON AUGUST 13TH, advance units of Umkhonto We Sizwe, combat force of South Africa's African National Congress, together with their comrades-in-arms of Z.A.P.U., opened a new chapter in the

struggle of the oppressed people of Southern Africa, in bloody clashes with the military forces of the oppressors.

Marching homewards across the Zambesi they were intercepted by forces of the 'Rhodesia Front' terrorist regime which has forcibly and illegally seized temporary control over Zimbabwe. Bitter and sustained fighting ensued. At Wankie and other areas fierce battles broke out, which are still continuing at the time of writing. Heavy casualties have been inflicted on the oppressors' forces, reinforced by South African troops and military equipment, including aircraft and armoured cars, rushed to Smith's aid by the government of the fascist Republic.

The brave African patriots of the resistance forces have undergone their baptism of fire in a manner which inspires the legitimate pride and confidence of all our people in them. They have fought with the utmost daring, skill and determination. Even the propaganda of the enemy, though laden with deliberate lies, pays involuntary tribute to their quality. The despatches of the Smith and Vorster regimes complain of 'cunning' ambushes laid by the guerillas, their 'fanticism', their 'stubborn' refusal to surrender.

The white supremacists' propaganda (spread throughout the world by Reuters and other imperialist press agencies) at first minimised the extent and seriousness of the battles that were and are taking place, and particularly the casualties suffered by their own forces. Every effort was made to present the opening phase as a purely localised operation on a small scale, which had already been successfully concluded, with perhaps some 'mopping up operations' to be completed.

As the fighting has continued over the weeks, as more and more news leaks out of the widespread areas of fighting and the extent of the casualties inflicted on the rebel forces and their South African allies, this optimistic propaganda is being replaced by a 'security blanket' of strict secrecy.

HELICOPTERS DOWNED

But truth will out. More and more the truth about the battles is emerging and reaching the outside world.

The first issue of *Flash*, Special News Bulletin published by the A.N.C. in Lusaka on September 2nd, tells of the brilliant successes achieved by the guerillas who wiped out and wounded substantial numbers of the white Rhodesian and South African 'security forces' in the Matabeleland bush. In one such action, in the Wankie area, the guerillas shot down three helicopters—two of them South African—which were bringing in reinforcements.

At the coal-mining town of Wankie, guerilla forces launched a surprise attack, inflicting heavy losses on the racist forces before seizing and driving off with a truckload of arms and ammunition.

In an attempt to conceal the extent of their losses, the Smith authorities told the nurses and hospital staff that a large number of recently-admitted wounded Africans were 'terrorists' (by which they meant guerilla forces). But soon the news leaked out. The wounded men were, in fact, all members of the 'Rhodesian African Rifles'—Smith's puppet force—who met their fate in battles against the liberation forces.

> The wounded soldiers spoken to (by visitors) said they were lucky to be alive. During a march in search of the guerillas they fell into an ambush. As is the practice in Rhodesia, African puppet troops were made by their White Commanders to march in front. Our guerillas allowed the African unit to pass and when the White racist soldiers came through, our men let loose hell fire. The African puppet troops were caught in the crossfire as they fled. Our guerillas then went up to the wounded African soldiers and gave them help, explaining that the fire was not meant for them but for the White racialist oppressors.
>
> (*Flash*, 2.9.67)

PROFOUND REPERCUSSIONS

The fighting that has now begun in Matabeleland has already made a dramatic impact in Southern Africa and far beyond, and it is bound to have even more profound repercussions as it broadens in scope and dimensions and spreads southwards. It is too early as yet to assess all the far-reaching implications of what has now been begun by the patriot warriors of Umkhonto We Sizwe and Z.A.P.U.'s combat groups. But already it is clear that the deeds of this new fighting alliance have wrought a qualitative change in the southern African—indeed, the African—situation.

Of course this is not the first armed clash between the unholy Vorster-Smith-Salazar alliance and its millions of African victims.

For a long time now, the African liberation forces of Mozambique, Angola and further north, in Guinea Bissau, have been pinning down many thousands of NATO-armed Portuguese, liberating and administering a constantly increasing area of African territory and enrolling and training a constantly growing army of devoted freedom fighters. In South-West Africa too, the Republic's illegally-seized colony, resistance fighters have challenged and fought the enemy.

Nor is the concept of an alliance of the liberation forces of unliberated Africa a new one. The oppressors are closely and obviously associated in an anti-African conspiracy, and it is plainly the duty of the people's leaders to co-operate, exchange information and experiences

and co-ordinate their efforts. Towards this end, steadily improving relations of friendship and mutual confidence have developed between the A.N.C., Z.A.P.U., F.R.E.L.I.M.O. of Mozambique, M.P.L.A. of Angola, and other organisations of genuine and militant patriots.

What now gives the A.N.C.-Z.A.P.U. alliance its special significance, one whose potentialities it would be hard to overestimate, is not only that it is sealed in a bond of brotherhood on the battlefield, but above all that it is boldly directed against the main bastion of white supremacy and colonialism in Africa.

That is exactly why these first clashes have caused a state bordering on panic in Salisbury and Pretoria, and trepidation among their imperialist backers abroad.

Smith and Lardner-Burke rush through new Vorster-style emergency 'legislation' providing for mandatory death sentences for revolt. Vorster, declaring the Republic cannot stand by while its 'neighbour's house is on fire', defies international law and sends units of his mechanised army, equipped with helicopters, jet-bombers and Saracen armoured cars, up north.

ACT OF AGGRESSION

Legally, this is an act of invasion and aggression, in the face of which the British government has thus far remained unaccountably quiet and complaisant. Politically, it is a desperate act. It is true that the Republic has been encouraged to feel it can get away with anything, since it has all along been defying the sanctions against the Smith regime and setting their avowed purpose at nought—and with impunity so far as retaliation by Britain, the Commonwealth and the United Nations are concerned. But this is brigandage of a different order. Unless Britain acts now against the Republic it is hard to see how British claims to any say or interest in Rhodesia can survive.

The opening phase of the guerilla war has also cast a glaring light on the shabby and underhand 'talks' which have sporadically continued between Whitehall and the Smith rebels. It was always outrageous and unthinkable that Smith and Wilson should presume to settle, between themselves, a constitution for the future of four million Africans whom neither has the shadow of a claim to represent. Z.A.P.U. has served notice in the most emphatic way that the future constitution of Zimbabwe will be written by the people themselves. Indeed, they are engaged in writing it, for constitutions, if they are to mean anything and endure, are always but a reflection of real relations hammered out in struggle between real social forces.

If the opening phase of the great patriotic war in the south has already caused panic and fear among the oppressors, it has also caused rejoicing and exaltation among the millions of the oppressed and their countless friends throughout the world. *Flash* reports that 'Bulawayo is seething—political feeling among the Africans is running high, reminiscent of the days of active mass struggles before Z.A.P.U. was banned'.

Further south, in the Republic, the people are learning but slowly of the truth of the fighting, because they are subjected to a barrage of lies from the misinformation services. Even so, the truth is penetrating. And our people already divine the true meaning of the fire in not-so-far-away Matabeleland. They know that our boys are returning; that it will not be long before the firing breaks out across the Limpopo and the battle is joined on the soil of the motherland.

THE WAR IS BEGINNING

The war of the people for the liberation of South Africa is beginning.

It is a good time to remember just why it is being fought and what sort of war this is.

This war was never sought by the oppressed non-white people of our country. For all the fifty years of its legal existence the African National Congress, like the other partners in our liberation movement, sought to win democratic changes and to change the rigid racial structure of the country by peaceful means, in the words of the late, great Lutuli 'knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door'. Instead of progress, Africans were faced with a succession of increasingly tyrannical governments, their rights even to legal protest whittled away to nothing, until as the Manifesto of Umkhonto We Sizwe (December 16th, 1961) pointed out there remained only two choices: 'submit or fight. . . . We shall not submit.'

It is the white fascist rulers of South Africa, swollen with greed and racial arrogance, who have deliberately chosen the path of violence, who have reacted with unbridled terrorism to the legitimate protests and demands of the people, in one massacre after another from the early aggressive wars of the Netherlands, Britain and the voortrekkers, to Bulhoek in the 'twenties, to the murder of Johannes Nkosi in the 'thirties, the killing of African miners in 1946, the May Day murders of 1950, the massacre at Sharpeville in 1960, and scores of similar incidents.

The full responsibility for the revolutionary war which now faces our country, with all its suffering, bloodshed and bitterness, rests on the shoulders of the white chauvinist rulers of South Africa, who have

turned our country into a battlefield. They have chosen the sword and they shall perish by the sword.

For the rulers of South Africa, whether outright fascists like Vorster, Hertzog and company, or those like de Villiers Graaff and the U.P., whose pretended opposition on minor questions does not conceal their unqualified support for white baasskap and apartheid, this is a wholly unjust war; a war for continued race oppression, land robbery and unbridled exploitation of the masses.

But for our freedom army, comprising as it must not only the heroic pioneer Congress fighters who have already entered armed combat, but all the millions of working people in town and country whose militant support and action will be called for and needed before victory can be won, this is a just, sacred and noble war. It is on a par with the fight of the resistance patriots in Hitler's Europe, of the heroic Vietnamese, Algerians and others who rose to repel the invaders, of all who have ever striven, struggled and died for human emancipation.

Our people are not fighting for a racialist cause but for a South Africa dedicated to the lofty principles of the Freedom Charter, a true motherland to all its peoples, offering freedom, security, human dignity and equality to all. It is because their cause is just, that it is supported by the overwhelming majority of our people, and of the whole of mankind, that the banner raised by the African National Congress must in the end triumph, no matter how long the war may last, or how costly it may be in lives, suffering and sacrifice.

On this score we should have no illusions. The duration of the struggle may be long indeed, and its cost heavy. We have no doubt of the courage and skill of our fighting men, of which they have already given so brilliant a foretaste to the enemy. But we must be ready, too, for reverses and bitter setbacks. The racialists are well armed and prepared to fight hard to keep their domination and their spoils.

The history of previous struggles of this kind in many parts of the world has shown that, often, there is a long, often slow and unspectacular, process of consolidation during which the guerillas establish themselves, acquire battle-experience, recruits and arms. Under conditions in which the enemy still dominates lines of communication and information services we cannot hope for regular front-line dispatches giving accurate accounts of the fighting. The enemy will seek to demoralise the friends of Southern African freedom by publicising highly exaggerated accounts of 'defeat' for our men and suppressing all news of their advances. For all these things we must be prepared, sustained by confidence in inexhaustible resources of our devoted patriots and the overwhelming justice of our cause.

The times call for endurance, self-sacrifice, the utmost contribution

that each of us can make, whether on or off the battlefield. This is the testing time for all who hate apartheid and strive for South African freedom, above all for the South Africans themselves, wherever they may be.

We know that the staunch friends and well-wishers of South African freedom are legion, in every country of the world. Outstanding spokesmen of our people have travelled far and wide, telling of the inhuman crimes of the racialists, the anguish and heroism of our people. We believe that, in the hard days ahead, the peoples and governments of Africa, Asia and the socialist countries, the mass movements against apartheid that have grown up in so many countries, will respond generously to the calls for such aid as the African National Congress will need and ask for. A particular duty rests, at this time, on the progressives in such countries as Britain, the United States, West Germany and France, whose governments and capitalists actively support the Vorster regime, and scab on the world boycott against it.

But inevitably the brunt of the struggle will fall on the South African people themselves, in whose hands now, as never before, rests the future and the freedom of our country. The decisive factor is the active support for our fighting men by the masses of workers and peasants of South Africa; the African people in town and country, the oppressed Coloured and Indian communities, the democratic core among the whites. With the rising tide of guerilla battle they are called on to sustain our guerillas in every possible way, to fight the oppressor with every weapon in the farms and reserves, in the towns and dorps.

We have confidence that our indomitable people, now as on so many occasions in the past, will respond to this challenge with all their might, that they will give everything they have for freedom, that they will never surrender.

To those who lack this confidence it may seem that the brave sons of Africa who gave up their lives at Wankie and other battles in Zimbabwe have perished in a noble but vain endeavour.

But we, who know our people and what they are capable of, think otherwise. Through all the tribulations ahead these heroes will inspire us all as we go on to new fights and new victories. We shall overcome. The banner they have unfurled, the black-green-gold of Congress and Freedom, shall be borne victorious from the Limpopo to Cape Town.

September 9th, 1967.

Karl Marx's 'Capital'

WITH THIS ISSUE we commemorate the centenary of the publication of Karl Marx's greatest work, *Capital*. Probably no other book in all history has ever had so profound an influence on the shape of the world as this monumental study of the nature of the capitalist system. Within fifty years of its publication, its critique of capitalism and its signposting of the scientific road to socialism had inspired the leaders of the socialist revolution in Russia, and ushered in the first socialist state over one-sixth of the earth's surface. Today, 100 years from its publication, the communist movement, which draws much of its understanding of the world and the process of social change from this major work of the greatest of communist teachers, now exists in force in every part of the earth, including a socialist camp which now embraces one-third of all mankind. This great movement itself is testimony to the world-shaking influence of Marx's *Capital*.

Marx came to his vast, detailed study of political economy not as a remote academician, but from a life of practical revolutionary political struggle. When he sat down to his ten-year study, largely in the British Museum, which was to end in the manuscript for Volume I of *Capital*, he had already done as much as any man alive for the cause of socialism; he had been a socialist propagandist and journalist of outstanding ability, with a string of books on philosophy and economics and innumerable articles on current political events to his credit. He had founded workers' organisations including the First International and taken part in the illegal work of the Communist League. Together with his life-long collaborator, Friedrich Engels, he had written the fundamental principles of the communist movement in one of the most vivid pieces of political pamphleteering of all time, the Communist Manifesto. He had crossed swords with censors and been deported for revolutionary activities from several countries of Europe. When *Capital*, Volume I, finally saw the light of day 100 years ago, it was the peak of an already outstanding revolutionary career, but not by any means the end. By the time of his death sixteen years later, he had completed the preparatory studies for Volumes II and III of *Capital* (published after his death), taken active sides with the revolutionary workers of Paris in the defence of the Paris Commune of 1871, and added a great deal to the library of master works of Communism which still guide the movement today.

At his graveside, Engels said:

> Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the

liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival.

Marx contributed so much to our understanding of the world, that it is difficult today to even attempt to summarise it. But two great discoveries stand out in significance from all the rest. First his discovery of the law of development of human society:

'The whole previous view of history', Engels writes, 'was based on the conception that the ultimate causes of all historical changes are to be looked for in the changing ideas of human beings; and that of all historical changes, political changes are the most important. . . .

> Now Marx has proved that the whole of previous history is a history of class struggles; that in all the manifold and complicated political struggles the only thing at issue has been the social and political rule of social classes, the maintenance of domination by older classes, and the conquest of domination by newly arising classes.
> . . . From this point of view all the historical phenomena are explicable in the simplest possible way, with sufficient knowledge of the particular economic condition of society . . . And in the same way the conceptions and ideas of each historical period are most simply to be explained from the social and political relations of the period, which are in turn determined by these economic conditions.

It was on this basis that Marx was enabled to show the socialist movement that the age of capitalism willy-nilly prepared the way for the next epoch, the age of socialism; and that the manner of the transition was being determined by the fact that

> historical leadership has passed to the proletariat, a class which . . . can only free itself by abolishing altogether all class rule, all servitude and all exploitation.

Thus Marx unlocked for the socialist movement the scientific understanding of how society could and would be changed to socialism; he transformed the socialist movement from a utopian crusade to a scientific attempt to take control of and direct the forces of social change as the chemist controls and directs the forces of chemical change.

Much of this original and revolutionary ideology had already been developed and written by Marx before *Capital* was complete. His dialectical and historical materialist conception moulds the whole of *Capital's* analysis of our own epoch. But in the course of his economic studies in the preparation of *Capital* Marx developed and proved the second of his great, world-shaking discoveries. Basing himself on the theories of the classical economists Ricardo and Adam Smith, that

human labour is the only source of value, Marx delved deep into the reality of the capitalist mode of production, to reveal finally the real nature of relationships between worker and employer.

'Ever since political economy had put forward the proposition that labour is the source of all wealth and all value, the question became inevitable: how is this then to be reconciled with the fact that the wage worker does not receive the whole sum of value created by his labour, but has to surrender a part of it to the capitalist? Both the bourgeois economists and the socialists exerted themselves to give a scientifically valid answer to this question, but in vain, until at last Marx came forward with the solution.'

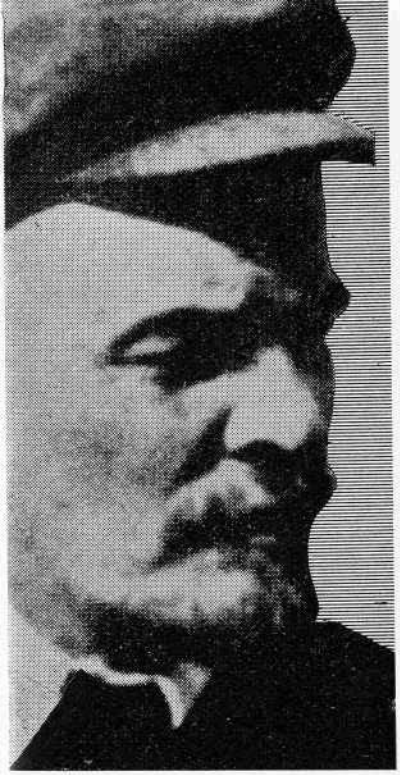
The solution is not capable of short explanation here. For those who would understand, both *Capital* itself and simpler expositions by students of Marx are now universally available to be read. Marx proved beyond doubt that the worker produces what he termed 'surplus value' for the capitalist who employs him, by working 'surplus time' over and above the time required for him to create the full value of his labour. This surplus value, created by the wage labourer at the point of production in the factory and workshop, Marx shows to be the source of all the rent, profit and interest which accrues to the entire capitalist class.

'This proved that the acquisition of riches by the present-day capitalists consists as much in the appropriation of unpaid labour of others as that of the slave owner or the feudal lord exploiting serf labour. . . .

'This also removed the last justification for all the hypocritical phrases of the possessing classes to the effect that in the present social order right and justice, equality of rights and duties and a general harmony of interests prevail, and present-day bourgeois society no less than its predecessors, was exposed as a grandiose institution for the exploitation of the huge majority of the people by a small, ever diminishing minority.'

Thus Marx fathered the modern socialist movement, its thinking and its beliefs; it is the theory of Marx, brilliantly developed by many of his successors, which has brought socialism from the realm of dreams into the realm of reality. *Capital* is the fountain head and still the greatest single work of all Marxist thought.

It is as valid—perhaps more valid—for our times as it was for the age when it was written. For this is the age when every road leads to socialism. And there can be no steady leadership along that road without the aid of the burning searchlight which Marx's *Capital* threw upon it 100 years ago, and still throws with undiminished brilliance today.



1917-1967

50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT OCTOBER SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

October, Africa and National Liberation

J. B. MARKS

MODERN WORLD HISTORY began on November 7th, 1917 (October 25th according to the old Russian calendar) when the working people of Russia, organised in their Soviets and led by Lenin's Bolshevik Party, took power into their own strong hands and ended for ever the rule of the capitalists and landlords in this vast territory, covering one-sixth of the land surface of the earth.

The Great October Socialist Revolution was like a mighty explosion, shaking the edifice of imperialism to its very foundations, opening up

vast cracks in that structure of oppression, mass slaughter, brutal exploitation and misery—cracks through which the oppressed and toiling millions of the earth could for the first time discern the clear sky of their hopes for a future of freedom and human dignity. And the thunderous reverberations of that explosion have continued, with ever-increasing power, to echo through the corridors of history over the past fifty years.

I

To the teeming millions in the vast continental areas of colonial domination, oppressed by a double yoke of exploitation and national oppression, and to their liberation movements, the October Revolution had a most profound significance.

It meant that the handful of imperialist super-powers which had hitherto dominated the whole world, rudely seizing African and Asian countries by force of arms, ruling them from far-off European capitals by terror, looting their wealth and enslaving their inhabitants, no longer stood unchallenged. On the ruins of the tsarist empire, a new, socialist state had arisen, whose voice was raised immediately against the innumerable crimes of the imperialists, and whose vast potential strength, mobilised and harnessed with incredible speed by the new system of socialism, was soon to overcome the heritage of backwardness and advance the Soviet Union to the front ranks among the world powers. For the first time ever a great power, armed with all the resources of the most advanced technology, appeared not as the conqueror and exploiter, but as the loyal friend and defender of the world's outcasts, the hundreds of millions with bare feet and bent backs, who toil from dawn to sunset to scratch a meagre living from the soil with wooden hoes, whose children never learn to read and write, and who go to an early grave in lands ruled by foreigners.

To all of these, the new power born in 1917 spelt hope. They may not have had the opportunity to study the theories of Marx, Engels and Lenin—the colonial masters took good care to see that they had no such opportunities. But the whole world was to see that in the regions of Tsarist Russia—that notorious prison of nations—the Communists abolished national oppression. The Soviet government not only proclaimed the right of nations to self-determination and independence, but put that principle into immediate practice. The former colonies of the Russian empire were liberated, and where they voluntarily opted to join the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the most energetic and generous steps were taken by the Russian proletariat, now masters of their country for the first time, to establish in the Asian territories and other areas of backwardness, that powerful economic and industrial

development which alone can ensure true independence and national equality.

Among the oppressed colonialised peoples this unprecedented and magnificent example had, both directly and indirectly, a shattering impact. It transformed our national liberation movements, both quantitatively and qualitatively. From rather small bodies of a reformist type, dominated by bourgeois intellectuals, and pleading for rather limited demands and rights, they grew into mass movements, demanding full independence and the complete liquidation of the colonial system, fighting militant battles with a real prospect of victory. And that powerful impetus, though it may have ebbed and flowed at different periods, has never halted. On the contrary it has gone from strength to strength, until today all of Asia and nearly all of Africa has won at least constitutional independence.

To this great historical advance of the oppressed peoples, the October Revolution made a contribution of incalculable significance. The Soviet state not only challenged the evil practices of imperialism and colonialism and set a glorious example of fraternal relations between nations, both within the Soviet Union and abroad. It also—more and more as its strength and influence grew—rendered practical and concrete aid to the cause of national liberation.

Of course, revolution cannot be 'exported' and every people has the inescapable task of conquering its own freedom. But to those who were prepared to fight and themselves did fight, the Soviet Union has always rendered whatever aid was within its capacity. In the early days, still suffering the wounds of foreign intervention, imperialist blockades and civil war, it aided young national states as was the case with Mongolia and Turkey. The people of Africa will never forget the stern Soviet warnings which restrained the imperialists at the time of the Suez aggression and the Zanzibar revolution, or the backing given to the Aswan project and in many other fields. Nor will the world ever forget the all-out aid being given today to the heroic people of Vietnam, whose glorious resistance to American aggression is the cause of all humanity.

II

If, prior to 1917, the development of socialist ideas among the colonial peoples was limited, this was due, in no small measure, to the hypocritical and treacherous attitude of the leaders of the majority of the European Social Democratic Parties. With pious phrases of socialism and internationalism on their lips, they nevertheless condoned, or even supported, the innumerable crimes of their bourgeois masters in the colonies. For them, the 'national question' was confined to European nations or minorities, and even there they adopted com-

promising attitudes, like that of the British Labour Party towards the issue of Irish independence. Only Lenin and a small group of genuine internationalists persistently raised the demand for colonial liberation as the main issue regarding the national question.

Like their successors of today, these pre-war heroes of the Second International represented a section of the workers who were bribed by a share in the ill-gotten super-profits of colonial exploitation, became supporters of imperialism and corrupted by its disgusting ideology of racialism. Small wonder that they found few adherents among the oppressed nations, and none to mourn the inglorious collapse of the Second International that followed the disgraceful betrayal of nearly all its leaders who supported their imperialist governments in the First World War.

But these traitors did not speak for the whole of the socialist movement, by any means. In nearly every country there were groups who, even in the midst of the war, stood by the principles of revolutionary Marxism that had been abandoned by their leaders, and held aloft the banner of internationalism, peace and socialism.

Under the impact of the October Revolution, these groups and parties were consolidated and united to form parties of a new type, Communist Parties adhering to the Leninist principles of internationalism.

In the countries of advanced capitalism the Communist Parties showed in practice the meaning of genuine Marxism, genuine internationalism, in innumerable magnificent demonstrations of solidarity with the oppressed colonial peoples. We shall never forget the fight of the French Communists against the 'dirty wars' conducted by their imperialist government in Algeria and elsewhere, the splendid record of the Communist Party of Great Britain in opposing colonialism, from the days of India's struggles for independence to the British Government's present betrayal of the Zimbabwe people, the stand of the illegal Italian Communist Party against Mussolini's invasion of Ethiopia, or the outstanding campaigns by the Communist Party of the U.S.A. against the atrocious and criminal war to colonise Vietnam.

Through such noble campaigns of solidarity these Parties strengthened the ties of common struggle by the European and North American workers and the colonial masses against the common enemy—imperialism. These ties were further strengthened by the campaigns waged by the Communists in the metropolitan countries to end race-discrimination against colonial workers and students living there, and many other fraternal activities which raised still higher the influence of Marxism-Leninism and helped to counter the ceaseless assault of anti-Communist lies and slanders—a part of the imperialists' plan for the mental enslavement of the African and Asian people, whose poisonous

after-effects are still being felt even in this period of independence and national rebirth. Communist books, periodicals and theoretical journals published in the metropolitan countries increasingly penetrated the iron curtain of bans and censorship erected by the colonialists in the countries they had enslaved.

It is hardly surprising, then, that the ideas which inspired the October Revolution, the ideas of Communism, should more and more exert a magnetic influence on the most ardent patriots, the most militant workers and revolutionary intellectuals in the colonies and semi-colonies. Defying the ruthless repression and terror of the alien authorities and their indigenous agents, they came together in Marxist circles and groups, applied the science of historical materialism to the study and analysis of their own countries' struggles and problems. Thus were laid the foundations of Parties of a New Type, Communist Parties, in a great many colonial countries. These Parties were a tremendous asset to the nations striving for freedom.

If at first some of the leaders of the national liberation movements looked askance at their development, fearing they would be a source of organisational division, or of ideological diversion from the immediate struggle for independence—and we should admit that in some cases inexperience led to sectarian mistakes which strengthened these fears—nevertheless experience was to demonstrate to all honest patriots that the reverse was the truth. The Communists threw themselves unreservedly into the struggles for national liberation, recognising that before they can embark on the socialist path the oppressed people must first be masters in their own houses. Their advanced theoretical understanding, their love for and closeness to the toiling masses, and their revolutionary militance and preparedness for sacrifice, placed them in the front ranks of the sons of the soil fighting for national freedom. Communist participation helped accentuate the anti-imperialist trend of the national liberation movements.

Patriots of all shades of opinion had to recognise that the fact of a man's being a Communist makes him a better fighter for the liberation of his people; that the existence of a Communist Party is a source of added strength and unity, for among all oppressed peoples the Party will strive for a firm fighting front of national unity in the common struggle; that the theoretical training of the Marxist-Leninists gives an added dimension of perception to the liberation struggle, strengthening its strategy and tactics, and broadening its outlook from the limits of nationalism to the glorious perspectives of socialism and the militant unity of the workers and oppressed peoples of the entire world.

Lenin prophesied that the working class movement in the developed capitalist countries and the national liberation movement of the

hundreds of millions of oppressed colonial peoples would inevitably merge into a single mighty stream of world revolution.

The victory of the October Revolution and all its far-reaching consequences have fully vindicated that brilliant prediction. This is the guarantee of the final defeat of imperialism and the advance of all humanity to a better future.

III

Of epoch-making significance to the oppressed colonial peoples—as to the world as a whole—was the defeat of the Axis powers in the Second World War; a crushing victory in which the main part was played by the Socialist Soviet Union.

Fascist Germany and Italy were the world centres of infection of virulent theories and practices of racialism, gross national oppression and genocide. The paranoiac concept of the 'Herrenvolk' with its rabid fanning of hatred and contempt towards Africans, Asians, Jews and all allegedly 'inferior races' called forth an eager response among the bitterest enemies of human freedom and dignity everywhere—from the Ku Klux Klan in America, the traitor generals in Spain and the quislings of all Europe, to the chauvinist white supremacists in South Africa.

The heroic, resolute resistance of the Soviet people, led by their Communist Party, against Hitler's huge war machine aroused tremendous enthusiasm throughout the world, sweeping away encrusted layers of anti-communist prejudice assiduously cultivated by the bourgeoisie over many decades. The myth of Nazi invincibility was dispelled. A tremendous wave of resistance, of revolutionary energy, was released, culminating not only in the crushing of the Axis powers, but also, on the ruins of their short-lived empires, the construction of democracies of a new type in a number of countries.

In *Europe*, following national liberation, the people rejected the bourgeois parties whose leaders had sold them into servitude under the alien yoke, and created new states which have joined the Soviet Union in a socialist commonwealth.

In *Asia*, an irresistible tide of liberation swept the entire vast Continent in a series of struggles, often waged with arms in hand, which liquidated the huge colonial empires of Britain, France and Holland, put an end to the semi-colonial status of countries like China, and resulted in the establishment of states of national independence, some firmly committed to the socialist path, throughout this region with its enormous populations. Of particularly great importance for the development of the national liberation movement in Asia was the victory of the Chinese people.

In *Central and South America* and the *Caribbean*, whose nineteenth century revolutions against Iberian colonialism had largely been aborted and cut short by the influence of the biggest imperialist powers and by an alliance of local feudalists and capitalists and Yankee imperialism, a fresh impetus arose, reaching its culmination in the birth of Free Cuba, pioneer of Socialism in the Americas.

In our beloved *Africa*, country after country wrested its independence from the British, French and Belgian colonialists—sometimes, as in Algeria and Kenya, only after long and bloody battles—until, at the time of writing only the 'slave South'—the fascist Republic of South Africa and its illegally annexed colony of South-West Africa, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), the Portuguese-occupied territories of Mozambique, Angola and Guinea, remained as substantial areas overtly dominated by European countries or racist white minorities. Everywhere else the African countries enjoy at least formal political independence, and in a number of our countries patriotic leaders have advanced yet further to the winning of economic independence and the laying of the foundations for the edifice of socialism—in the last analysis our only way to realise our people's aspirations for true independence, equality among the nations and the redressing of centuries of injustice.

All these marvellous advances, which would scarcely have seemed possible even to the most optimistic fifty years ago, have been facilitated to a tremendous degree by the famous victory of October 1917, and all that it implied. No less has our path been illuminated by the practical experience of the Soviet State in the years that followed the Revolution. The October Revolution and the epochal events connected with it—the growth of the might and influence of the USSR, the defeat of fascism, the emergence and development of the socialist world system—vastly contributed to the rise of the African revolution and accelerated the advance of our peoples.

IV

Before the establishment of the first workers' and peasants' government in 1917, there were many who acknowledged the unfairness and evils of capitalism but who nevertheless doubted the feasibility of any other form of modern society.

The great achievement of Lenin and his comrades, their unforgettable service to mankind, is that they demonstrated in practice not only that socialism 'works'—but that it works *better than capitalism*, affording an infinitely more rapid and more humane method of economic and industrial development than capitalism, even in the most favourable circumstances, ever achieved.

It was socialism and socialism alone that enabled a vast, under-

developed country of Europe and Asia, the vast majority of whose population was composed of illiterate peasants, to leap into the front rank of modern powers, with highly-developed industry, agriculture, science and technology, the pioneer of space research and the vanguard of human progress.

This great historic fact is of crucial significance to the peoples of newly-independent countries who stand at the fateful crossroads, the choice of which will determine their future path of development. There are only two choices: the one leads to socialism, the other to capitalism.

Of course, there are some who tell us that we have no choice, and among them even those who use 'Marxist' phrases about the alleged impossibility of skipping historical 'stages'. They cite the arguments of Lenin—perfectly valid in their time—against the utopian ideas of the Narodniks who thought that, by-passing capitalism and industrialisation, Russia could build some sort of idyllic 'socialist' society on the basis of the communal system of land ownership which once prevailed in Russia. Such scholastic arguments are completely foreign to the creative, dynamic character of Marxism. They overlook the one great central fact, which is that *the October Revolution itself changed everything*. It modified all problems, international and local, and called for new thinking and new solutions.

Many of the young Soviet Republics, especially those in Asia, were in various pre-capitalist stages of development. So was the People's Republic of Mongolia. But concrete historical experience proved that it was not necessary for these countries to pass through the stage of capitalism, with all its cruel exploitation, alienation, national disintegration and suffering. They could by-pass this historically obsolete stage precisely because of the existence, the protection from outside interference, and the assistance of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat established in Petrograd in 1917.

Our people in Africa know that socialism is possible—it has been proved. They know that socialism alone can enable our countries to set out on the race to catch up with the more advanced countries—a race imposed on us by the deliberate retardation of our development by colonialism—with any prospect of success, and without the monstrous injustices and cruelties of capitalism. They know that capitalism means subordination of our economies to Western monopolies, in fact, the loss of our independence.

The African masses are for socialism. Even those among the African leaders who for personal or class reasons, or because of their close links with imperialism, prefer the capitalist road, are afraid to say so if they seek popular support. African Governments which wish to support capitalism either pretend to be socialist, relying on demagogy and

supposed ignorance among the people of socialist principles; or else they scrap democratic constitutions and resort to military coups and dictatorships by army officers brainwashed in colonialist military academies.

African Governments which seek to realise the aspirations of the masses—such as those of the United Arab Republic, Tanzania, Guinea, Mali, Algeria and Congo-Brazzaville—are carrying out deep-going socio-economic reforms which create prerequisites for the socialist path of development. The recent events in Tanzania, following the Arusha Declaration, where President Nyerere and the Tanganyika African National Union have taken decisive and profound measures to capture the keys of the economy from imperialism and capitalism, open a glorious new chapter in the advance of the peoples of East, Central and Southern Africa towards a socialist future.

Of course the precise path and forms of transitions to socialism will differ in Africa from those in the different times and circumstances of the Soviet Union after 1917. But the great main guiding lines—power of the working people, social ownership as the dominant sector in the field of industry, profound agrarian reform—such outstanding lessons from the treasure-trove of experience in building socialism, are universally-valid legacies of the new civilisation erected on the foundations laid in 1917.

V

When the guns of the *Aurora* thundered out over Petrograd in October 1917, not many people in the world were very conscious of the real significance of these momentous events, or even believed that the Bolshevik Revolution would long be able to maintain itself. The capitalist press throughout the world was confidently predicting the imminent downfall of Soviet power—as it continued to do for many years to come. Many people, having no other sources of information, believed them. But some far-sighted men, in all corners of the world, guided by profound confidence in the working class and knowledge of the principles of scientific socialism, thought otherwise.

Among these was David Ivon Jones, talented South African Marxist, and Editor at that time of *The International*, the organ of the International Socialist League. Already, at the time of the February Revolution which overthrew the tsarist autocracy, he wrote that 'coming when the night of capitalism was far spent', the Russian revolution could not stop at the bourgeois democratic stage reached by the nineteenth-century revolutions in the West, but must inevitably advance to the stage of a socialist revolution.

Immediately after the historic October events he wrote again about

this remarkable vindication, hailing the Revolution as the greatest in history and the dawn of a new era for all men.

He and his comrades, S. P. Bunting and Bill Andrews, were among the founders of the Communist Party of South Africa, whose 45th anniversary was commemorated last July.

Throughout the period of its existence and still today, our Party, created in the revolutionary upsurge of the October Revolution, has remained faithful to that inspiration, defending the interests and the rights of the millions of workers and oppressed masses of our country.

In a country which has become a byword throughout the world for its racial tyranny and inhuman subjection of the African majority as well as the Coloured and Indian peoples, for its massacres and fascist legislation, its tortures, imprisonment, proscription and banishment of political opponents, the Communist Party boldly raised the banner of national liberation, of full democratic rights for all, of the return of the country's wealth to the people.

In the land of apartheid—the synonym for brute racialism the world over—the Communist Party set a convincing example of fraternal unity of all national groups, electing such outstanding African Communists as the late Albert Nzula and Moses Kotane to the post of General Secretary.

The Communist Party abided firmly by its policy of building a united front of national liberation around the country's greatest mass political organisation, the African National Congress, a front which included the Indian and Coloured Congresses, the Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats.

Driven underground by the vicious Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, the Party set about regrouping its forces for illegal struggle in the South African Communist Party, as well as participating vigorously in all the great legal struggles and campaigns of the Congress Alliance.

Despite this harsh struggle in our own country, the Party has also fulfilled its internationalist duty, participating in and loyally abiding by the decisions of meetings of the world Communist movement, and maintaining the publication of the quarterly the *African Communist* now in its seventh year of publication, carrying the truths of Marxism-Leninism throughout the length and breadth of our Continent.

Unity of Communists and non-Communists in the national liberation struggle is a cardinal principle of our struggle, to which South African Communists from all national groups have demonstrated their fidelity again and again in the struggle and in the dungeons and torture chambers of the Nazi hangman Vorster, Verwoerd's sinister successor.

Only last year, Bram Fischer, who led our Party's work inside the country during a year of living in hiding, disguised and under another

name, stood up in Court after his capture and before being sentenced to lifetime imprisonment, to make a brilliant defence of the principles and programme of the Party, a speech filled with defiance and contempt for the criminals whose rule has subjected millions to starvation, degradation and near-slavery and brought the country to the brink of civil war.

Terror and mass repressions have not broken the spirit of our people. Inside and outside the country the struggle goes on, embracing Communist and non-Communist patriots as we approach the new rounds of struggle, embracing all forms, including armed struggle, which however long it takes will certainly end in the overthrow of the hateful regime of white minority domination and the establishment of a free South Africa, with all the glorious prospects this will unfold for South Africa and Africa as a whole.

'A new era in human history opened with the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917', declares the Programme of the South African Communist Party, adopted at an underground conference in 1962. In the making of that new era, our people as well are determined to play their part.

Lenin said, 'No force on earth . . . is capable of taking from us the principal gains of our revolution, for they are no longer "ours" but have become the gains of world history'.

In a very real and concrete sense, we of Africa, and all the world's fighters for national liberation, understand that those gains are ours as well, and we are standing up to claim them.

3: Shaking the World

TERENCE AFRICANUS

'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.' That was how the American Communist John Reed entitled his dramatic eye-witness account of the socialist revolution as he saw it in Petrograd at the time. It was an accurate and prophetic phrase, for the revolution indeed 'shook the world' and altered the course of human history more than any other single event had ever done.

The very nature of the principles of the Russian revolution challenged the foundations of every existing society.

Lenin and his comrades announced such 'heresies' as these:

That the sacred title-deeds of the landowners, factory-owners, bankers and shareholders, domestic and foreign, were of no legal validity

and that henceforth all the means of production would be vested in the workers and peasants, the true creators of all wealth.

That The Great War, which was still raging at the cost of millions of lives and the squandering of enormous wealth and resources, was a fantastic swindle. It did not serve the interests of the peoples involved, but was fought over the contending claims of rival monopoly capitalists to world domination, and especially to the exclusive enslavement and exploitation of Asia and Africa.

That all nations had equal rights to self-determination, self-government and independence.

That the exploitation of man by man was a crime, to be outlawed as chattel slavery, in its time, had been outlawed; that no one had a right to live by robbing another of the fruits of his labour; that 'he who does not work, neither shall he eat'.

Nor were these startling principles announced as having validity for Russia alone. These new leaders of Russia were ardent internationalists, followers of the great revolutionary Karl Marx, who had founded the First International, and heralded forth the dynamic slogan: '*Workers of all countries, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains; you have the world to win!*'

They saw the Russian revolution as part of a world revolutionary process that could only culminate in the overthrow of capitalism and imperialism everywhere, and the emancipation of all the world's workers and oppressed colonial peoples.

They took the initiative in setting up a new revolutionary organisation, the Communist International, composed of Marxist-Leninist Parties dedicated to the furtherance of this process and the liberation of their countries.

Small wonder that the powerful and privileged ones everywhere reacted with horror and fear.

They used all the powerful propaganda means at their command, through press, pulpit and classroom, to proclaim that the Bolsheviks were madmen, criminals and murderers. They declared that the young workers' state could not possibly survive—and took drastic action to fulfil this prophecy by violent intervention.

The main imperialist powers—Britain, Germany, France, the United States, Austro-Hungary and Japan and other countries—were fighting each other in the most destructive and terrible war ever seen. Yet they diverted troops to join in attempting to strangle the Russian revolution, and valuable resources to back the whiteguard armies fighting to overthrow Soviet power.

All these attempts failed.

The interventionists and White guards found themselves facing not

the demoralised and disillusioned troops of the old Tsarist army, who had been deserting in their thousands in 1917, but determined and devoted fighters of the newly-formed Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, fighting with the utmost skill and courage for a cause they understood and believed in, and backed by the masses of the population.

They found, too, that their policy of intervention in Russia was coming up against ever-increasing resistance in their own countries.

The very principles of scientific socialism which had filled the bourgeoisie with such dread and horror aroused the aspirations and enthusiasm of the masses of the people everywhere. In particular, movements of solidarity with the Soviet state and 'Hands off Russia!' Committees sprang up in many countries. Strikes and mutinies against intervention broke out among dockers and seamen.

REVOLUTIONARY UPSURGE

The end of the First World War saw revolutionary mass upsurges, inspired by the Russian revolution. In Germany Workers' and Soldiers' Councils, on the Soviet model sprang up, but these were largely under the influence of the treacherous Social-Democratic Party leaders who betrayed the workers' cause in the interests of the bourgeoisie. The revolutionary Spartacus League (subsequently to become the Communist Party of Germany) led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, was not sufficiently well-established to take over the leadership; its leaders were subsequently assassinated and many of its members shot down. In Hungary a Soviet government, led by the Communist Party under the leadership of Bela Kun, was established, though imperialist intervention (in which South Africa's General Smuts played a prominent role) succeeded in restoring reaction.

In the colonial world, including Africa, the Russian revolution sparked off a chain reaction of militant struggles against foreign domination, struggles which have not diminished but gone forward with increasing vigour until today. This theme has been well dealt with elsewhere by the veteran South African revolutionary J. B. Marks.*

In this stormy international situation, by grim battles against internal reaction and its foreign backers, the workers' forces defeated the attempted counter-revolution and Soviet power was firmly established over a vast area covering one-sixth of the land surface of the earth.

It was a mighty victory, of incalculable significance not only to the

*See page 15 of this issue.

Soviet people but also to humanity. But it was a victory dearly bought. The years of civil war and foreign intervention, following upon the ravages of the First World War, had brought the Soviet Union to the verge of ruin.

Industry—backward as it was in 1913, compared with the advanced states of the West—had fallen to 14.3 per cent of its pre-war level; steel output was at less than 5 per cent of what it had been in 1913. In agriculture the same had happened, with farm products at less than half pre-war level.

Yet, despite these adverse circumstances, the people rallied to the plan put forward by Lenin and the Communist Party, envisaging the transformation of this ruined, devastated and backward land into a highly industrialised and advanced state, a socialist society. Priority was to be given to heavy industry and electrification. Farming was to be transformed on a socialist basis. A vast cultural revolution was embarked upon, to transform the masses of illiterate and uneducated peasant farmers into advanced skilled and conscious builders of a new society.

It was a formidable task indeed. To some it seemed fantastic and impossible. So it seemed to the great majority of foreign observers and 'experts'—and so it seemed even to some of the Soviet leaders themselves. Chief among them was the group around Leon Trotsky, who though never a Bolshevik before 1917, had played an important role in the Party and the Soviet Government in the Revolution and the years that immediately followed. This group lacked confidence in the workers and peasants of Russia, and held that the aim of building socialism in the Soviet Union was impossible of achievement, without a successful socialist revolution in the industrially-advanced West. Hence, they declared, all efforts should be concentrated on 'exporting revolution'.

These ideas were firmly rejected by the majority of the members of the Communist Party. They fully comprehended the international significance and role of the Russian revolution. But they were not romantic adventurers who imagined that liberation could be carried abroad at bayonet point against imperialism; they were scientific revolutionaries, adherents of the profound world outlook of historical materialism, men who understood the inner contradictions and conflicts of the revolutionary process in society.

Of course, the Soviet people themselves are a part of that process; they could not and never have withheld material and moral assistance from those who were able and willing to struggle for their own emancipation. But the main internationalist duty of the Soviet State and the Soviet people lay in strengthening their own country—

as a bastion and fortress in the imperialist world for the workers and oppressed people everywhere;

—as a living demonstration that socialism works—and that it works far better than capitalism in raising the material and cultural standards of the masses and in every progressive field of human endeavour;

—as an irrefutable proof (contrary to the claims of the self-proclaimed 'governing classes') that the ordinary workers and peasants are perfectly capable of governing and conducting the affairs of a great country—and that far more wisely, humanely and justly than the old aristocrats, or their successors, the greedy bankers, businessmen and manufacturers, ever did.

To construct socialism in this vast underdeveloped country, ruined by years of war, civil war and foreign intervention, on the verge of famine, was a task of heroic proportions, the more so in that the Soviet people had to rely solely on their own efforts, an island of workers' rule in an ocean of hostile imperialist and capitalist countries.

Though the valiant efforts of the Red Army had compelled the imperialist bourgeoisie to end (or rather to postpone) their efforts at direct military intervention, they never ceased for a single day in their efforts to isolate and undermine the Soviet state. Boycotts and blockades were imposed; a stream of money poured forth from lavish coffers to finance espionage, sabotage and subversion. Every attempt was made from abroad to contact and encourage dissident elements inside the country—the dispossessed capitalists and the considerable numbers of petty bourgeoisie, rich peasants—the 'kulaks' ('fists'—from their grasping habits) and others.

INDUSTRIALISATION

Industrialisation was not only the basis of development for socialism in the Soviet Union. It was also the precondition for the successful defence of the country against imperialist attack. And, especially with the rise of the Hitler Nazi regime in Germany (aided and abetted by German, British, American and other foreign monopoly capitalists), that danger had grown increasingly acute. German imperialism was feverishly re-arming and mobilising—and the aim of the Western policy of 'appeasement' was obviously to direct it eastward, against the Socialist Soviet Union.

In these circumstances, the industrialisation of the Soviet Union and the collectivisation of agriculture, had of necessity to proceed at a forced pace. The issue was no less than the survival of the country and of Soviet power.

The results speak for themselves. As a result of the first five-year plans (sneered at as 'impossible' in every capitalist newspaper) indus-

trial output in the Soviet Union had increased by 1940 to nearly eight times what it had been in 1913. The output of the means of production was multiplied to thirteen times the pre-war figure. Many new industries—aircraft, tractors and tanks, chemical and others—were developed, and the Soviet Union entered the front ranks of the world's industrial powers.

Sweeping changes took place in the countryside. Millions of small peasant farmers united into big collective farms on a socialist basis.

A true cultural revolution was carried out. In its proper sense, this implied a long-term, complex process of education, war on illiteracy, training of cadres and personnel, mass spreading of a true socialist culture which, while assimilating everything that is best in the common human cultural heritage, fought against the reactionary ideology and prejudices of the exploiting classes.

Had it not been for these tremendous social, economic and cultural efforts of the Soviet people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, the country would not have been able to withstand the frightful impact of the Nazi invasion commenced on June 22nd, 1941.

THE NAZI INVASION

The Nazi troops constituted the biggest army ever assembled anywhere. They were arrogant with easy victories throughout Europe, seasoned in battle, indoctrinated with fanatical belief that they were the 'master race'. They were backed by the military and industrial might of practically the whole of Western Europe, which Hitler's hordes had overrun in one blitzkrieg after another.

Many people imagined that the Soviet Union would be another 'pushover' for the 'invincible' Wehrmacht, especially when the huge, mechanised Axis forces broke through to the very gates of the capital, Moscow, beseiged Leningrad and advanced to the banks of the Volga River.

Smuts, then Prime Minister of South Africa, said privately that he thought the Germans would conquer Russia in six weeks.

A very different prophecy was made by *Inkululeko* (Freedom), Johannesburg organ of the Communist Party. In June 1941 its poster and its main article announced confidently: RED ARMY WILL SMASH HITLER.

The 'pessimists' (did not their pessimism reveal their secret hopes?) completely failed to reckon with the profound patriotism, heroism and ferocity with which the entire Soviet people would arise to defend their socialist motherland.

Miracles of endurance and sacrifice were displayed by the Soviet people, under the inspiring leadership of the Communist Party. A

State Defence Committee headed by J. V. Stalin was set up, and under its direction the Soviet armies halted, outfought and outgeneralled the Nazis, in the vast and epic battle of Stalingrad, the turning point of the entire Second World War, into which Hitler recklessly threw his entire resources, and in many other hard battles as well.

From the time of the Nazi attack on the Soviet Union the entire Second World War changed its character, and the main battlefront became that in the East. British, American, Free French and other forces struck hard and telling blows against the Axis. So did those of South Africa (though crippled by the colour bar which excluded African troops from armed combat) in the Western Desert, Italy and elsewhere. Guerilla movements harried the Nazis in Yugoslavia, France, Italy, Czechoslovakia and many other countries.

But the decisive part was played by the Soviet people and their magnificent army, which met, engaged and destroyed the main forces of the enemy, and advanced victoriously, joining up with the patriots of the Eastern European countries, to destroy the Nazi beast in his lair and raise the Red Flag victoriously in the German capital, Berlin.

The Soviet people bore the main brunt of the war. Though many European peoples suffered grievously under the Nazi occupation, millions of Jews and others being butchered through the bestial policy of genocide, and Britain being subjected to terror attacks by missiles, the ravages of the fascist savages in the U.S.S.R. exceeded all bounds.

More than 20 million Soviet people were killed in battle or murdered by the fascists in jails and concentration camps. Hardly a family was not bereaved.

More than 70,000 towns, settlements and villages were utterly and deliberately destroyed by Hitler's barbarians.

One-third of the country's national wealth was lost in the war.

RECONSTRUCTION AND ADVANCE TO COMMUNISM

The great resilience and inner strength of socialist society were demonstrated by the rapidity with which the Soviet Union recovered from these grievous wounds, and went forward to even greater achievements.

Something of the pace and extent of this post-war progress can be gauged from the figures of the output of key industrial items between 1940 and 1960:

	1940	*1960*
Steel (million tons)..	18.3	65
Oil (million tons)	31.1	148
Gas (million cubic metres) ..	3,400	47,000
Electric power (million kWh.) ..	48,300	292,000

This fast rate of development has continued into the 'sixties.

Twenty of the fifty years of the Soviet state have been spent in fighting aggression and subsequent rehabilitation of the economy. Despite this diversion the Soviet experience has already fully proved the great superiority of socialism for developing the resources of a country. Between 1929 and 1966 the average yearly growth-rate of industrial production has been 11 per cent (compared with 4 per cent for the U.S. and 2.5 per cent for Britain and France). This year steel output will be over 100 million tons. Since 1913 total industrial output has been multiplied sixty-six times; output in engineering and metallurgy 538 times; chemicals 294 times; electricity 267 times. Inevitably food output growth-rates are slower, but here, too, a 12.8 times increase has been registered.

Because the socialist system is free from the periodic crises of capitalism and is capable of overall scientific planning, the growth has been all-round and well-balanced, based not on the greed of private manufacturers, but the real needs and welfare of the people.

Wages and living standards have increased sharply. The services to the ordinary citizen from the state—education, child-care, health, pensions, holidays, etc.—are unparalleled anywhere in the world. Enormous efforts have been made in the sphere of housing. Every year over ten million people move into new flats—over a half of the population having been rehoused over the past ten years.

Most Soviet workers enjoy a forty-one-hour, five-day working week.

NATIONAL FREEDOM

Fast as has been the rate of development for Soviet society as a whole, it has been fastest of all in those Asian and other outlying regions which, in tsarist times, were the scene of typical colonialist neglect, exploitation and stagnation. The peoples of these areas won their national freedom. For the first time their languages and culture received recognition; their children were educated and all enjoyed equal rights. But beyond this, the Communists recognised that true independence can only rest securely on a foundation of modern economic development; thus a much higher proportion of national capital was put into the development of industrial and other forms of modernisation in precisely these formerly 'depressed areas'.

Today the Soviet Union, established in the territory of that former 'prison of nations', the Tsarist Empire, stands as a fraternal and equal family of nations—Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, Uzbeks, Azerbaijanis and many others: a firm union of free republics.

Judged by any standard the achievement of the Communist Party

of the Soviet Union has been extraordinary. From one of the world's 'underdeveloped' areas, Marxism-Leninism and workers' and peasants' power has transformed the U.S.S.R. into the foremost state in Europe, a 'super-power' whose science and technology stands second to none, whose spacemen have pioneered the path of mankind into the cosmos.

The Soviet people and their Communist Party are far from resting on their laurels. At this, their first half-century they are already planning the next great forward step in mankind's conquest of the future—the advance to Communism.

Socialism is based on the principle—'From each according to his ability; to each according to his work.' That means that—since one man's capacity to contribute to the wealth of society is naturally greater than another's—there remains areas of inequality.

In the Communist society of the future, the principle will remain of contribution according to one's capacity. But one will receive from society according to one's needs, rather than to one's personal contribution.

This presupposes both a very high level of production, such as to eliminate scarcity, and a very high level of social consciousness on the part of all members of society.

To both these goals the Soviet people are devoting their fullest resources of human effort and ingenuity in ever-more sophisticated methods of production, planning and economic techniques.

A STEEP AND ARDUOUS CLIMB

The ascent to socialism has been steep and arduous for these, the pioneers of that new and higher form of society in which all the world's children shall one day live.

It was the more arduous because they *were* pioneers traversing unknown terrain, with no map, but only the true compass of scientific Marxist-Leninist theory. Inevitably there were mistakes which were dearly paid for.

It was the more rough and hasty a path because they were alone, surrounded by hostile imperialist states—unlike the new socialist societies which have followed and will follow. Under constant menace of attack, they had to build quickly and roughly, for opposition and criticism.

It was under such strains and stresses that there could develop such an un-Communist phenomenon as the cult of individual hero-worship of Stalin, which was accompanied by undemocratic violations of socialist law, and was reflected in such diverse fields as science, history, architecture, art and literature. This unfortunate development was denounced at the historic Twentieth Congress of the C.P.S.U. in 1956.

Since that time far-reaching steps have been taken to correct such diversions from the broad main road of socialist democracy.

Such negative features, however, must be seen against the broad main perspective. That perspective is one of the titanic contributions the Soviet people and their leaders have made to humanity during fifty years of devoted and self-sacrificing adherence to the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the cause of the emancipation of mankind.

Whatever its temporary imperfections, socialist democracy is infinitely more real and genuine than the bourgeois 'democracy' of the West, which tramples ruthlessly on the rights of the great majority of the peoples of the world, particularly of the 'non-Europeans', whom it regards as less than human. The relatively higher living standards of the imperialist countries, no less than their vaunted civil liberties, have been gained at the expense of the super-profits, super-exploitation and enslavement of hundreds of millions of victims of colonialism and neo-colonialism, east and south of Suez, and south of the Mason-Dixon line.

'DAWN OF THE WORLD'

In this series of articles, we have been concerned mainly with the consequences of the Great October Revolution in so far as they affected the Soviet people themselves. But with with every year which has passed since November 1917, we have been able to discern more clearly the dimensions of that Revolution as marking not merely a new era for the Russian people and their immediate neighbours, but the beginning of an entire new era for the whole of humanity—the age of Socialism.

Exactly fifty years after the first publication of the major theoretical work of Karl Marx, *Capital*, his greatest disciple, Vladimir Lenin, at the head of the revolutionary proletariat and its vanguard, the Bolshevik Party, began the daring project of building, on the ruins of the Russian empire, a new society founded on the principles of scientific socialism which Marx had been the first to elucidate.

Their brilliant success has confirmed the true vision of the men of genius who conceived those principles, and ensured the inevitable defeat of capitalism and imperialism, the triumph of the socialist principles—the rule of the working people, the abolition of exploitation and of class and national oppression—in every corner of the world.

Already a third of humanity, in fourteen countries, ranging from Czechoslovakia in the heart of Europe, to the East of Asia and to Cuba,

have thrown capitalism overboard and chosen to follow the Communists to build socialism.

Practically the whole continent of Asia and the greater part of Africa have responded to the inspiration of the anti-imperialist tidal wave unleashed by the October Revolution, and fought forward to win independence. Many of these countries have determined to eliminate and avoid capitalism and march forward towards socialism.

Ever larger sections of the working class in the advanced countries of imperialism are taking up the banner of revolutionary Marxism-Leninism. In France and Italy the Communists constitute the main opposition Parties; elsewhere, as in Britain and the U.S., though still minority Parties, the Communists command the respect and allegiance of ever wider sections of the thinking workers and youth by their courageous devotion to the cause of the workers and their unyielding fight against imperialist oppression, whether in their own countries, Vietnam, Southern Africa or the Arab lands.

We are indeed living in a new era, the epoch opened on November 7th, 1917, which began the next stage of human history, man's transition from capitalism to socialism. It is a time when the poet's words do truly apply:

Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive

and history has vindicated the ecstatic title given by Ivon Jones to his article greeting the Russian revolution—*Dawn of the World.*

NO EASY WALK

But it has been, and still will be, 'No Easy Walk to Freedom'.

Compared with the position fifty years ago, the grand alliance of the world's workers, peasants and oppressed peoples has taken giant strides forward. But every inch of the way has had to be accompanied by fierce struggles, Herculean labours, sacrifices and bloodshed. Nor may we expect the remaining stages of humanity's great trek to socialism to be achieved, without fierce struggles.

The people's enemy, imperialism, has suffered major reverses, but is far from its final defeat. Forced to retreat from the socialist third of the world, and to concede formal independence to the hundreds of millions in its former empires, imperialism yet remains a potent and viciously dangerous force, commanding great resources, openly preparing and carrying out plans and preparations for counter-revolution in every part of the world, harbouring dreams of reversing the tide of history and re-establishing world domination.

The centre of international imperialism has moved from Europe to the United States of America, where the giant monopoly concerns which hold every government, Democrat or Republican, in the palm of

their hands, are pouring billions of dollars into war and war preparations. Science and technology are perverted and channelled into devising fantastic techniques—nuclear, chemical and biological—for the mass destruction of human life. Enormous sums of money are spent on extending the operations of the Central Intelligence Agency —the most ferocious expression of international gangsterism ever known, which makes America's membership of the United Nations and professions of adherence to international law a farce. In a score of countries (for example, Guatemala, Dominica, Indonesia, Ghana, the Congo) the U.S. and its agency, the C.I.A., have succeeded in acts of aggression to oust popular governments and install imperialist puppets. In many countries they prop up hated regimes—such as that of Ian Smith, Vorster and Salazar—which could not stand a day against the people's anger without the money and the weapons provided by foreign imperialism.

The forces of imperialism and reaction remain powerful—ruthless, treacherous, aggressive, wealthy and cunning. It is no service to the cause of those who are fighting these forces to dismiss them as harmless 'paper tigers'.

At the same time, there are many factors which give us complete confidence that these powerful forces can and will be defeated, and that the common people comprising the overwhelming majority of humanity will advance triumphantly to a world of socialism, national liberation, democracy and peace.

The very foundations of imperialist strength and strategy are insecure and shaky: eroded and rotted by irreparable interior stresses and conflicts.

Recently, in a number of the main cities of the United States itself, the descendants of the sons and daughters of Africa who were seized and deported as slaves, have risen in rebellion against the outrageous conditions of degradation and suppression to which they have long been, and still are, subjected.

The superficial unity of the imperialist camp, established after the Second World War with the unquestioned hegemony of U.S. finance capital, is beginning to crumble. The French and other imperialists are challenging America's claims to a 'divine right' of domination, and inter-imperialist rivalries, fundamental and inevitable contradictions, are again asserting themselves.

Invariably the calculations of the reactionaries, based on their inherent outlook of contempt for the common people, fail to reckon with the tremendous resources and capabilities of those people once they have united and rallied round a clear-sighted vanguard.

In Vietnam—as in Cuba—they have struck a rock—an armed,

united and mobilised people, dedicated to independence or death.

Ever the revolutionary wave, given so powerful a stimulus by the great upheaval of 1917, rolls forward: bursting forth now in one area, now in another, of the now diminished territory still ruled by imperialism, capitalism and neo-colonialism. Even as I am writing these lines, comes the tremendous news of yet a new front of struggle opened up by the heroic guerillas of the A.N.C.-Z.A.P.U. Fighting Alliance in the no-man's-land of Zimbabwe, against the gangster Smith's terrorists, and marching towards the Limpopo and beyond, for the liberation of the enslaved Southland of Africa.

And today, as for the past fifty years, stands, as a mighty stronghold and fortress of the world's peoples, the Soviet State, founded by the great Lenin and his comrades and led ever forward by Lenin's Party.

Standing today, not alone, but at the centre of a commonwealth of fraternal socialist countries—and history will surely correct the deviations of Mao and his followers who have temporarily disrupted their unity—the Soviet Union has proved itself again and again, throughout its existence and still today, an inexhaustible source of strength and confidence to the countless millions of the world's population who, starving, groaning under oppression and exploitation, strive and fight forwards towards freedom and socialism, towards the simple universal goals which Lenin wrote on the banners of the October Revolution: PEACE: BREAD: LAND.

That is why, on this great anniversary, we of Africa, so long the enslaved and wretched of the earth, join with our brother workers and peasants everywhere, to celebrate this occasion as our own, and with love and comradeship, to greet the Soviet people and their glorious Communist Party.

CHIEF ALBERT JOHN LUTULI 1898–1967

CHIEF ALBERT JOHN LUTULI, President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, died at 2.30 in the afternoon of Friday, July 21st, 1967. At about 10 o'clock that morning the Chief took a short-cut by walking on a railway bridge across the Umvoti River near his home. A fast-moving goods train hit him from behind barely sixteen paces from the end of the bridge and safety. He was rushed to Stanger Hospital where he died. In so tragic a manner South Africa lost one of her greatest sons.

The death of Chief Lutuli has been officially called an accident. Perhaps so. But it was an accident that could only befall a man whose sight and hearing were impaired. In fact Chief Lutuli's sight had troubled him for some time. Medical assistance was not available on the tribal farm reserve to which he was confined by order of the South African government. Urgent applications to the authorities for permission to enable him to leave the reserve to undergo an operation in Durban forty miles away, were ignored for months. When finally permission was given four months later too much time had been lost. He was truly a victim of the fascist apartheid regime.

All over the world the memory of Chief Lutuli was mourned. In the United Republic of Tanzania flags were flown at half-mast on July 24th and the Kenya National Assembly observed two minutes' silence during its session. A memorial service was held at the Arnautoglo Hall, Dar-es-Salaam conducted by the Bishop of Masai, the Rt. Rev. Trevor Huddleston (who shared with the late Chief Lutuli and Dr. Y. M. Dadoo the distinction of Isitwalandwe, conferred on all three at the Congress of the People at Kliptown in 1955). Government and TANU leaders, members of the diplomatic corps, leaders and members of liberation movements and hundreds of Tanzanian

citizens attended this service. It was followed by a meeting addressed among others by Mr. A. Masha of TANU, Dr. Eduardo Mondlane of FRELIMO and Mr. Moses Kotane the Treasurer-General of the A.N.C.

In London a memorial service conducted by the Dean and by Canon L. J. Collins was held at St. Paul's Cathedral. The following evening, August 1st, saw a memorial meeting presided over by Mr. Robert Resha of the A.N.C. executive. The speakers included the Minister of Transport, Mrs. Barbara Castle, formerly president of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, who assured those present that there would not be 'another South Africa' in Rhodesia. Others who spoke there were the Zambian High Commissioner, Mr. A. M. Simbule, Lord Collison of the T.U.C., Isitwalandwe Dadoo, and Idris Cox, a

leading member of the British Communist Party, well known for his interest in and dedication to African freedom.

From heads of state and representatives of African and Socialist countries, from individuals and political leaders throughout the world messages of condolence poured into the offices of the African National Congress.

MAN OF THE PEOPLE

Until the last Chief Lutuli was a true man of the people. Ever modest and disliking any sort of pomposity or pretentiousness, Chief liked best to move with the common people. Before arbitrary government bans confined him to his home at Groutville, it was a familiar and moving sight to see this great man walk to the bus stop outside Durban railway station and board the segregated bus packed with African workers bound for Stanger.

Though the late Chief Lutuli will always be remembered primarily as a statesman, and the leader of his people in the great struggle against apartheid, he was in fact associated with an extraordinarily wide range of activities.

As a peasant-farmer he founded the co-operative of sugar-cane growers at his home which grew until it united all African sugar growers in Natal. An enthusiastic sports lover, he played a leading role in the work of the Natal African Football Association. It was perhaps in that organisation that the Chief developed his remarkable capacity to remain vital and alert throughout an all-night meeting, a faculty at which exhausted colleagues at meetings of the liberation movements were often to marvel at in later years.

In the Natal African Teachers' Association, the South African Christian Council and cultural and traditional organisations, Chief Lutuli played an important part.

POLITICIAN AND LEADER

Chief Lutuli first attracted attention as a national leader during the struggle for a militant policy within the Natal Provincial A.N.C. Chief Lutuli sided with the workers and the youth who were demanding changes in policy and strategy. In 1951 he was elected Provincial President of the A.N.C. in Natal, and as head of the Natal delegation attended the National Conference of the A.N.C. at Bloemfontein that year. This was the conference that considered and adopted the report of the Joint Planning Council of the A.N.C. and the South African Indian Congress which called for the organisation of the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. Chief Lutuli presided at the conference session which considered the report. The debate was a memorable one whose outcome was to set the tone of South African politics

for the next decade. The National Conference held the following year elected Chief Lutuli President-General of the A.N.C.

THE LUTULI ERA

It is not easy to assess the part played by one man of Lutuli's stature in a movement led by many talented and able men. He was not the type of leader who walked alone, making his own decisions, communing only with himself, carried along on a wave of personal adulation. He was, par excellence, the self-effacing leader, a believer in collective wisdom and democracy, who led without self-dramatisation, by sheer force of personality and ability within a committee of many talented colleagues.

Since the jubilee of the A.N.C. in 1937 the organisation had steadily gained in strength and definition of policy. The process of building a single nation out of the different African peoples begun in 1912 was more or less completed in 1943 when the federal structure of the A.N.C. was replaced by the highly centralised Xuma constitution. From then on the question of alliances with other national groups and revolutionary forces came more and more to the fore.

Inspired by the events of the Second World War, especially the defeat of fascism by the Soviet Union, demands arose on all sides for the adoption of militant methods of struggle. It was also apparent that the international climate after the Second World War was highly favourable for peoples struggling against imperialism for freedom and independence.

The Lutuli era was one of great ferment in mass action, ideas and organisation. The Coloured People's Congress and the Congress of Democrats emerged and a new militant non-racial trade union centre —the South African Congress of Trade Unions—was born. The most powerful women's movement in our history made its appearance. The Congress Alliance led by the African National Congress was formed.

Stern battles were fought against oppression. National strikes involving hundreds of thousands of workers; economic boycotts; giant demonstrations; civil disobedience campaigns; big rural revolts made this the stormiest period in the long history of the national liberation movement.

The clash of ideas was no less fierce. Debates raged on such matters as the forces of the united front; nationalism and internationalism; socialism and capitalism; strategy and tactics of the struggle; the role of Communists within the national liberation movement; methods of struggle. The uniquely organised Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter was itself a nation-wide campaign of discussion in which the mass of the people participated.

Chief Lutuli in countless speeches and writings made his position clear on the whole range of problems that agitated the country. And always that position was one of principle.

It was during the Lutuli years too, that the massive international solidarity movement in support of freedom in South Africa was built. Today, as we survey the international scene it is difficult to realise that there was a time when South Africa and its racist policy was considered 'respectable'. The struggles waged under the leadership of Chief Lutuli attracted world-wide attention and led to the formation of anti-apartheid organisations in many countries. The United Nations General Assembly and Afro-Asian conferences resolved to quarantine the apartheid regime by economic, diplomatic and other boycotts. Even the British Commonwealth could no longer tolerate the South African regime as a member.

Thus, by the end of the 'fifties the foundations were laid to a firm revolutionary united front of all oppressed national groups and classes. There was a common programme—the Freedom Charter. There was an organisational machinery which was vast, complex and effective. There was comradeship born of common struggles and battles won and lost. There was enormous international goodwill and support for the struggle of the people against apartheid.

Up to 1961 literally millions of people had participated in militant mass actions against oppression in one way or another. Until then the policy of the African National Congress did not extend to the use of military methods of struggle. This was a matter of declared policy arising from an assessment of the situation in South Africa. Chief Lutuli as the leader and spokesman of the organisation expressed this policy. It was not his policy—it was that of the A.N.C. In 1958 at the first conference of the All-African People's Conference held in Accra the A.N.C. expounded its policy on this question of methods of struggle in some detail. The A.N.C. there opposed the idea of non-violence being treated as a rigid 'principle' and put forward the view that whether the struggle was to be violent or non-violent was a matter of policy to be decided from time to time by the leadership in each country.

The reaction of the White rulers of South Africa to the struggle became more and more violent. In the rest of Africa the independence movement swept forward to the banks of the Zambesi and Limpopo Rivers. In the light of these changes the leadership of the A.N.C. unanimously came to the conclusion that the time had come for armed resistance to be added to the methods previously employed. Thus was created Umkhonto WeSizwe in 1961 as military support of the A.N.C. Today, as units of Umkhonto WeSizwe and those of Z.A.P.U. jointly

face the armed forces of White supremacy, the greatest contribution of the Lutuli era—the foundation of a liberation army—begins to make its impact.

MISTAKEN TRIBUTES

In addition to the many generous and warm tributes to our late Chief which appeared on the occasion of his passing away, were some, particularly in the West, who tried to depict him as a sort of pacifist or 'moderate' in contradiction to his more revolutionary colleagues. This was a grave injustice to the man who was chosen time and again as the unchallenged leader of the African National Congress in the most militant period of its history precisely because of his own uncompromising patriotism and firm revolutionary spirit. Such distortions were well answered by Idris Cox speaking at the above-mentioned London Memorial Meeting. 'Chief Lutuli had long been convinced that every possible means should be used in the struggle against apartheid, whether by peaceful or by violent means' and he continued to cite some of the words of Chief's lecture at Oslo University in December 1961 on the occasion of the award to him—the only African ever to be thus honoured—of the Nobel Peace Prize:

> Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bedfellows. There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown . . .
> This goal, pursued by millions of our people with revolutionary zeal, by means of books, representations, demonstrations, and in some places armed force provoked by the adamancy of White rule, carries the only promise of peace in Africa. Whatever means have been used, the efforts have gone to end alien rule and race oppression.
> We South Africans equally understand that much as others might do for us, our freedom cannot come as a gift from abroad. All honest freedom-loving people have dedicated themselves to that task. What we need is the courage that rises with danger. . . .
> Whatever may be the future of our freedom efforts, our cause is the cause of the liberation of people who are denied freedom. . . . To us all, free or not free, the call of the hour is to redeem the name and honour of Mother Africa.

LUTULI AND COMMUNISM

Some 'obituary' statements were made not in good faith, but with malice, slanderously carrying even to the grave the vendetta against the Chief, which he had suffered from reaction throughout his life. The lowest point was reached by the fascist head of the security police, Brigadier van den Bergh. He told the South African press that '. . . had ex-Chief Lutuli been a younger or a healthier man he would have denounced communism . . . He was on the verge of publicly disowning communism . . . He accepted the government's sincerity of purpose'.

How low they have fallen, these White supremacist hyenas! They

failed with all their persecution and pressures to force Lutuli from his principled stand. And now they manufacture lies with which to slander him in his grave.

Chief Lutuli's attitude towards Communism and the Communists in the national liberation movement has long been a matter of public record, and would have continued to be so had he not been prohibited by law from any public utterance throughout the last years of his life. Whilst he had his own philosophical and other beliefs which did not always agree with those of the communists, he was adamant on defending their right to serve in that united front of all freedom-loving people which constitutes the African National Congress and the Congress Alliance. And he maintained this stand with the utmost firmness despite the most extreme pressures both from the enemy and within his own organisation.

Like all the other Congressites our late Chief withstood the powerful pressures exerted by the state on all the accused to 'disown' or 'denounce' Communism throughout the long years of the Treason Trial.

Likewise, he recognised the unique contribution Communists had made in the A.N.C. and other sections of the alliance as well as in the liberation press, and respected them for it. He was attacked for this by elements within the A.N.C. and outside it, and gave a forceful reply on many occasions, including the celebrated articles written for the Natal journal *Indian Opinion*. He wrote:

> People seem to be alarmed that there may be a so-called right wing, centre and left wing in the Congress. To me it is a healthy sign . . .

No slanders or belittlement can ever efface the tremendous contribution of this great and good man whose memory will always live in the hearts of our people.

His loss is a heavy one and will be sorely felt, for as the South African Communist Party wrote in its message of condolence to the A.N.C.:

> It is a tragedy for our people that he did not live to occupy the position, for which he was so eminently qualified, as the first Head of State of free South Africa.

But in a deeper sense, Chief Lutuli can never be lost to us. His spirit, his ideas and his achievements live on. They are in the minds and the hearts of our heroic freedom fighters as they engage the enemy, today in Zimbabwe, tomorrow within the Republic itself. They will be with us after victory when our people commence to build the fair edifice of free South Africa of which Albert John Lutuli dreamed and for which he lived and died.

The greatest monument to his memory will be to hasten the winning of that victory and the building of that edifice. To that the nation must re-dedicate itself.

OPPRESSION AND SUPPRESSION

A New Consolidation in South Africa

KATHLEEN WELSH

THE WORLD CAPITALIST press is at present engaged in composing rival variations on an identical theme: the Vorster régime's 'new, outgoing and pragmatic approach' to politics. The result is a fantasia indeed. For, in fact, no 'softening' whatsoever has taken place. The process has rather been one of extremely rapid 'hardening'. During this past year, the South African régime has effected a major consolidation of its techniques of oppression and suppression. This overall consolidation can, for purposes of analysis, be considered under three main headings.

1. *Tightening of control over the masses through a programme clearly directed at the creation of a national slave labour force.*
2. *The assumption of total powers of punitive repression against all opponents and critics.*
3. *An intensified drive to reinforce the unity of the white ruling class.*

1. CONTROLLING THE MASSES

Here, the spearhead of the attack is the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act. Carel de Wet, former Ambassador to Britain, the new Minister of Planning (who has already achieved immortality by his remark in the House of Assembly that not enough Africans were shot at Sharpeville) expressed himself characteristically when interviewed by the Port Elizabeth *Evening Post* on the objectives of

the Bill. He declared: 'I say now to the Bantu: Go home—that is where you belong.' He insisted that, wherever it could be done, 'Bantu' would be 'sent back to their homelands' in the interests of apartheid. Another Government spokesman, Botha, chose this moment to reiterate that African presence in White areas must be 'for a limited purpose, of a casual nature'.

Of course, we have long been aware of the basic dichotomy in Nationalist theory and practice by which the regime has continually made pronouncements similar to these while, at the same time, the influx of Africans into urban areas has increased every year. We can find a typical example of the resulting evasion when, in January 1967, the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, A. H. Vosloo, replied to a question in Parliament from Mrs. Helen Suzman about the numbers of African males and females (a) admitted to, and (b) endorsed out of urban areas. He replied, with blatant false naïveté that 'such statistics are not kept'. However, the Planning Bill makes clear in a new way the manner in which the regime proposes to 'solve' this conflict. It has given rise to considerable protests from capitalist interests and Chambers of Commerce because of the powers it gives the Minister over industry as well as over labour.

Speaking for these interests, S. Waterson (United Party M.P.) declared that the key word of the Bill was 'compulsion' and that the Government was 'proclaiming martial law over the economic life of the country'. Another spokesman emotionally declared that, as a result of the Bill, the 'plans and blueprints of bureaucrats' would replace the 'decisions of free business men'.

What has led to this outcry from capitalist interests?

The Bill makes it compulsory for industry to seek the Minister's authority before building new factories or adding to existing ones. Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Planning, told the Federated Chamber of Industry that African labour would no longer be available on demand—and added that this fact would in future be as important in industrial planning as capital structure, cost structure, raw material, prices and markets. Behind such statements and, indeed, behind the Bill itself, lies the failure of the regime's attempts to 'soft-sell' border industries (industries on the fringes of the reserves) to capitalists. Legal powers to compel this development have therefore been assumed—provisions which will have profound effects on South African workers. For these powers enable the regime to *transform all African labour into migrant, contract labour.*

The Bill foresees the compulsory registration of every African *in the 'homelands'* (even if he was born and has always been resident in a White area) as *a workseeker in White areas.* In reply to a question

from a reporter as to whether established or contract labourers were more satisfactory workers, de Wet replied that the contract labourer works harder because 'he knows he can be kicked out from one day to the next'.

Light is shed on the methods by which these contract labourers will be recruited by an item in a recent bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists. The bulletin finds that 'the system of recruitment of African workers now operating in South-West Africa is unique in its organised and efficient application of conditions which amount to slavery'.

In levelling its 'slavery' charge, the bulletin says that African workers in South-West Africa are recruited by the Government-sponsored South-West Africa Native Labour Association (Swanla) which classifies male workers into various categories.

> Once having been chosen by Swanla contractors, the men are transported from their tribal areas to their areas of work. There is no other way of obtaining work or earning a wage except through the Swanla contract system.
> The initial term of contract for an African worker in the mines, says the report, is 309 working days with a minimum wage of 1s. 9d. for each of the first 155 days and 2s. for the remaining time. White miners in 1962 were earning an average of £1,250 per annum.
> Labourers are not recruited again for the same work in the same area or factory 'in order that they may not acquire skills'. (*Anti-Apartheid News* (London), July-August 1967.)

This method of direction of labour provides a blueprint for the methods to be observed in border areas within the Republic—indeed where border industries have already been set up, this has been shown to be the case.

A further significant statement by de Wet in connection with the Bill's focus on decentralisation was that the removal of workers from concentration in the urban areas would prevent 'the risk of disruption of services, such as power failures and transport strikes as had occurred in places like New York, London and Paris'. This clearly shows the regime's aim of halting the development of the skilled urban proletariat. By keeping the labour force scattered (and unskilled on the S.W.A. pattern), the regime hopes to prevent all types of working-class organisation and activity.

De Wet re-stated the regime's firm intention of reducing the African labour force in the Western Cape by 5 per cent per year. The means by which this reduction is to be achieved have been indicated by another piece of recent legislation—the so-called 'Coloured Cadets Bill'. This provides for the registration of all Coloured men between

the ages of eighteen and twenty-four and the 'training in employment' of those not at school and those who are unemployed.

The Bill sets up compulsory work training camps on para-military lines. Training 'can include any work done inside or outside the proposed training centres'. Penalties for disobeying orders are severe, ranging from fines to imprisonment—and even combining both.

The Bill removes all parental control over cadets except in so far as property transactions and consent to marriage are concerned—and vests this control in the committees that will run the camps.

While the selection board is empowered to exempt those engaged in full-time study at school or university, in permanent employment or serving apprenticeships, *they are not compelled to exempt anyone.*

Nationalist M.P., N. F. Treurnicht (Piketburg) declared that the Coloured Community would welcome the Bill as 'a measure that would prevent their children succumbing to bad habits and eventual delinquency . . . a good start to incorporating the Coloured youth in a positive labour plan'.

Just how 'positive' a 'labour plan' the Bill indeed supplies becomes plain when we note the provision that discretion as to how many 'cadets' are called up is not left to the selection board but to the Minister, who is empowered to tell the board *how many are required.* Coetzee himself merely dotted the i's and crossed the t's when he openly declared that this legislation was *intended as a means of filling the labour gap in the Western Cape caused by the Government's decision to expel 5 per cent of Africans from the area each year.*

It is clear that the government is extending to the Coloured people the methods of forced labour long employed against Africans by means of such mechanisms as the pass laws and the reserve system. Among Africans, compulsory labour is also being extended.

A further addition can be noted in the 'Transit Camps' recently set up, to which released prisoners are now being directed. Details are given in an International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa Special Report, *Transit Camps in South Africa,* May 1967, and *Welcome Valley* by Mahlubi Livingstone Mrwetyana, a supplementary document to the above, July 1967.

The Report reveals that there are at least twenty-four of these camps in the rural areas of South Africa, and the Government admitted in February that about 50,000 people—men, women and children—were living in them.

Four categories of people are drafted to the camps, there to live under appalling conditions, forced to work at whatever the Government orders—or starve.

Some are former political prisoners, freedom fighters who have served their sentence and, immediately on being released, banished from their homes to the camps, and there compelled to scratch out the miserable existence that the camps afford. As one ex-prisoner wrote: 'To me this has become tantamount to a second term of prison. . . .'

Relatives of freedom fighters, too, are subjected to similar persecution. The Report comments: 'As part of the campaign of terror and intimidation against non-White opponents of the regime, the police and the Department of Bantu Administration and Development are making full use of the stringent provisions of the Native Urban Areas Act to inflict further punishment on those who have engaged in politics, and even on their friends and relations. Many of those being endorsed out and sent to the rural townships (transit camps) are the dependants of jailed African politicians.'

Then, too, there are large numbers of aged or infirm men and women, thrown out of their homes on White farms or in the towns because the apartheid State had no more use for them, since their working life was over. They have to rely on the meagre bounty of charity organisations, because they cannot work.

But by far the largest group consists of ordinary South Africans, men and women who have fallen foul of the myriad impossible regulations governing the lives of Africans, who have been 'endorsed out' of the towns—a euphemism which seeks to hide the bestial chattel laws which are reality for the vast majority of South Africa's people.

The camps, in short, are a means of persecuting militant opponents of the regime and their dependants, forcing people to work for the very authority which has driven them from their homes and livelihood, and providing a place, conveniently hidden from the eyes of the world, for the old and sick victims of apartheid to die where none can see their final degradation.

2. REPRESSIVE POWERS

The new 'Terrorism Bill', recently enacted by the South African Parliament, gives the regime 'blanket' powers of repression hitherto unequalled.

First, as regards arrest, it enables any senior police officer to arrest any person without a warrant. The person so arrested can be held indefinitely in solitary confinement. The Minister refused to incorporate a provision in the Bill that the next-of-kin should be informed of the arrest—and the Bill specifically states that no person other than the Minister or an officer in the service of the State can have access or be entitled to any official information relating to or obtained from

a detainee. Even the visits from a Magistrate specified under the '90-day' and '180-day' clauses (though these visits were of little use to detainees) will now only be allowed 'if circumstances permit'. The freedom of the Special Branch to torture and bully detainees is now utterly unchecked. The courts have no jurisdiction over or access to detainees.

When detainees are charged under the Terrorism Act, a new provision is applied. The accused has to *prove his innocence*. And the charges which he will face are virtually unlimited. The Bill does not only apply to acts of sabotage. The Minister of Justice, when he said that 'everything which goes to sow disorder and anarchy falls within the framework of the planned activities of these people' (i.e. 'terrorists') was speaking all too accurately in terms of the Act. People can be charged under the Terrorism Bill with any action that had the effect, *or was likely to have the effect* of 'embarrassing the administration of the Affairs of the State'. It will be presumed that the action was committed to endanger the maintenance of law and order within the Republic unless the accused can prove beyond a reasonable doubt that this was not so. It is not even necessary for the prosecution to show that the action was wilful—only that it was 'likely to have been wilful'.

The Minister specifically refused to exclude children from the Bill's provisions—saying that children who participate in 'terrorism' should be treated just like adults. To express the Bill's ultimate possibilities, a child who chalked a slogan on a wall could be sentenced to a minimum of five years' imprisonment—for this is the minimum sentence laid down by the Bill for anyone convicted under the Act. The death sentence can be imposed.

The Act is retrospective to 1962—enabling the regime to charge a group of South-West African freedom fighters under it. It is quite probable that it will be used also against released prisoners whom the regime is anxious to 'put away' for a further spell.

In terms of the total arbitrary powers conferred by the Bill, the new amendment to the Defence Act seems almost unnecessary. This amendment places a blanket ban on publication of news about the South African Defence Force or 'any auxiliary service', as well as 'any force of a country which is allied to the Republic'.

And so more patriots will be crammed into South Africa's crowded prisons, there to suffer, at best, humiliating and degrading conditions, to be kicked, beaten and deprived of food. Since Harold Strachan's courageous exposé of the appalling treatment meted out to prisoners, which was followed by some improvement in conditions, the whitewashers of apartheid have pretended that all was now well in Robben

Island, Leeuwkop, Pretoria and the rest. Even the much-vaunted Red Cross investigation of prison conditions, which the Government long refused to publish, has been used to give the impression that South African prisons compared favourably with those in the rest of the world. The Red Cross report was, on the whole, uncritical and bore many signs that the investigator had been duped by the prison authorities into thinking that he was seeing everyday conditions in the prisons, instead of a farce carefully prepared by the warders; even so, where the report did make criticisms these were cleverly mixed up, in publication, with defensive comments by the South African Government, giving a generally favourable impression.

It is difficult to overstate the debt which South African freedom fighters, and all friends of the South African people, owe to the International Defence and Aid Fund. Not only has this charitable body worked tirelessly, collecting money for the defence of political trialists and for the support of their families. It has also relentlessly exposed the bestiality of apartheid in a long series of detailed, factual reports, answering the lies of Vorster and his apologists with incontrovertible facts, successfully smashing the cordon of censorship and silence about South Africa which the Government tries to impose. The latest of its publications concerns the Red Cross investigation of South African prisons, and the Fund painstakingly corrects or complements each inadequate aspect of the Red Cross report, exposes each blatant lie of the Government spokesman, with documented evidence by the people who really know about South African prisons—the ex-prisoners and detainees themselves.

3. 'WHITE UNIFICATION'

If the measures which the capitalist press allege to constitute a 'new approach', a 'liberalisation' and a 'softening' are critically scrutinised, it will be found that, actually, these measures are solely directed at achieving greater 'White unity' within the Republic—a self-contained structure prepared for monolithic racial confrontation.

The 'concessions' over international sporting events are not concessions to international opinion but a 'bonus' presented to the sports-mad members of both White language groups—a removal of the irritations caused in the sole area in which international pressure has, so far, affected them personally.

But the world is not so easily fooled. The (White) South African Olympic Association went to the International Olympic Committee's Teheran Congress in May this year, confident that the concessions would have hoodwinked the world's sports administrators. They could also count on support from the imperialist countries, anxious

as always to get South Africa off the hook. African, Asian and Socialist delegates, however, informed of the true nature of the 'new' sports policy by the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, refused to allow the immediate re-entry of South Africa to the Olympic games. It was quite clear that Vorster hoped that, by allowing a few non-White sportsmen to go to Mexico under the South African flag, he would divert the attention of the world from discrimination in sports *inside* South Africa, which he has no intention of abandoning. The ploy didn't work. South Africa remains an outcast, and a final decision on her exclusion will be made in Geneva next February. If the Western sports bodies persist in their 'salvage operation', hanging over their heads is the threat that no African country will take part in the Mexico Olympics if South Africa does.

The withdrawal of the two university apartheid Bills which were to have been sponsored by De Klerk, the Minister of Education, was attributed by him to the fact that the universities themselves had now taken sufficient action in implementing apartheid on the campus. However, such actions as have been taken by the universities in this connection would certainly not have satisfied the Minister in 'normal' circumstances, taking his past record into consideration.

The Government is quite obviously feeling the need to control and mollify important sections of academic and student opinion—Vorster knows very well that there is a strong, if normally latent, anti-apartheid current of feeling among students and university teachers. The visit of Senator Kennedy to South Africa provided the occasion for a demonstration of rebellious spirit which was made the more emphatic by the Government's ham-handed reaction to the tour of even such an equivocal critic. More importantly, the recent banning from his post of Dr. Raymond Hoffenberg, a noted medical researcher and teacher, has aroused a storm of anger in academic circles, and among South African White intellectuals in general. The banning of Hoffenberg may be seen as a misjudgment of the temper of the intellectual community—while it intends to isolate and crush the more 'extreme' critics of apartheid, the maniacal logic of apartheid demands that there must be more and more repression, extending even to comparatively mild critics of the regime.

The 'soft line' is also evident in recent actions on the part of others lower in the ranks of the Nationalist hierarchy: for instance, the rejection by the Afrikaanse Studentebond of an 'extremist' candidate for their leadership, who was opposed to all contact with N.U.S.A.S. except on rigid terms dictated by the A.S.B. Similar rejections have been occurring in other Afrikaans' organisations. The Albert Herzog faction has been under attack from sources close to the centre of

power. Those who stress 'Afrikanerdom' as opposed to 'the White nation' are not at present regarded with favour. Indeed a Cabinet Minister recently described the Afrikaner people as in danger of becoming 'over-organised'.

The war in the Middle East was even seized on as a pretext for a *rapprochement* between the regime and the South African Jewish community. The regime is now careful to avoid anti-semitic pronouncements—hence the fall from grace of Mr. Brown, editor of the anti-semitic *South African Observer*. Special permission for large sums to be sent from the Republic as 'aid for Israel' developed into an exchange of courtesies between the Government and official Jewry.

But it would be naïve to interpret Vorster's support for Israeli aggression as evidence of an abandonment of the Nationalists' traditional anti-semitism. It is no accident that among the Zionists' most ardent apologists are the West German militarists and Nazis, and near-fascist newspapers and organisations throughout the West.

These 'concessions' are not concessions at all. As is shown by the banning of Hoffenberg, and even more clearly by the new Press Bill, which seeks to shut down newspapers and imprison journalists if they print 'lies' (i.e. the truth), the so-called changes of policy are merely ploys to absorb and silence critics, to gear the Whites for the death-struggle with the forces of freedom, a struggle which looms nearer and nearer. Truly progressive Whites, refusing to be taken in by the propaganda, will be and are being even more ruthlessly persecuted.

Resistance by the non-White masses, too, grows daily after the long period of quiet which followed the heavy blows struck against the national liberation movement by the police in 1963-5. The veteran Gandhian Nana Sita has struck a chord of defiance and hope in the people's hearts by his undaunted courage, at the age of sixty-nine, in going to prison for the third time, this time for six months, for refusing to leave his home as he had been ordered to do under the Group Areas Act. The funeral of our beloved Chief Lutuli, Isitwalandwe (wearer of the warrior's feathers), became the occasion for a massive demonstration against the regime. Soon afterwards, the African National Congress distributed thousands of copies of a militant leaflet all over South Africa, calling on the people to have courage and be ready to take up arms against the oppressors when the time came.

Although the public face of the apartheid regime is one of bland confidence, the recent incursion into Rhodesia of Zimbabwe and South African freedom soldiers has exposed South Africa's sense of security as being brittle and shallow. When the guerillas started to shoot

down Smith's security forces, Vorster panicked; troops, police and helicopters were sent to aid the Smith regime, Radio South Africa openly admitted South African intervention in the fighting, and Government spokesmen talked of Rhodesia's borders being 'South Africa's front line'. This blatant admission that South Africa is Smith's master, and Rhodesia its client state was later, of course, denied, but the damage had been done. What is important is that, no sooner was Vorster confronted with determined men who repaid violence with violence, bullet with bullet, than the carefully-publicised stability of the 'White South' was seen to crumble, while the Government hit the panic button. Once again, the leadership of the African National Congress has been vindicated: careful planning and training, correct political leadership, and a comparative handful of guerillas make the racists quake in terror. As the liberation movement moves inexorably to the final showdown with the apartheid state, this is a salutary lesson for those who had been duped or terrified into believing that the White gangsters could turn justice and history back for ever.

BONN-PRETORIA AXIS

J. J. JABULANI

ON DECEMBER 16TH, 1965 (Dingane's Day), Pieter Botha, as Defence Minister in the South African White minority government, announced loudly that South Africa possessed a 'secret weapon'. This weapon, the result of South African research will, he said, 'ensure the safety of South Africa'.

Speaking elsewhere on the same day, Dr. Albert Hertzog, then Minister of Ports, declared that:

> the financial powers of the United States and Britain were prepared to sell out the white man in Africa for their own financial gain. (*The Times*, London, 17.12.65.)

Hertzog did not mention either France or West Germany, though France was supplying South Africa with supersonic Mirage jet fighters, Alouette transport helicopters and various other military equipment —certainly in defence of 'the White man in Africa'.

But what of West Germany? In the booklet, *The Great Power Conspiracy*, the African National Congress of South Africa had described West Germany as the 'secret ally' of the South African fascists. In secrecy West Germany had in fact worked with Botha's scientists to produce the 'secret weapon'.

This fact is documented extensively in a Memorandum *The Bonn-Pretoria Alliance* published by the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic. (Berlin, May 1967.) The Memorandum states:

> As Defence Minister Fouche and Prof. le Roux (Vice-President of the National Council for Scientific and Industrial Research), let slip as far back as 1963, experts in the South African Defence Research Council are working on a combination, with long-range rockets, of Tabun, Soman and Sarin, which are particularly virulent gases which are colourless, odourless and tasteless. (p. 46.)

In Hitler's time these gases were the Wehrmacht's 'miracle weapon'. Today, they are Vorster's 'secret weapon'.

The scientists who developed some of these gases have now 'gone to ground in South Africa, with the help of the West German Hochst Dye Works', states the Memorandum. They are now working in chemical factories in Sasolburg.

More telling in the exposure of this alliance is the story of how the successor firm to the infamous IG-Farben, the Ludwig Bayer AG (Leverkusen, West Germany), have taken over Farben's death-dealing scientists, transferred 'their nerve-gas research and production experiments to South Africa'.

In the deal, negotiated by Verwoerd's personal scientific adviser, Dr. Moning, in 1961, Bayers ceded part share in these experiments to the South African government. In return, the latter ceded to Bayers:

> control of the rich resources of chromium near Rustenburg, which can be mined cheaply, and thus (enable Bayers) to build up their international monopoly in chromium. (p. 46.)

As P. Tlale wrote in this journal:

> The Wehrwirtschaft (in South Africa) has added a new dimension to the scope and scale of state/private capital co-operation . . . That these economic policies should be based on the Nazi pattern is no accident . . . (The Apartheid Economy: *African Communist*, No. 18, 1964.)

In the exposure of West Germany's participation in this Nazi-type war economy, this Memorandum renders one of the most valuable services to the revolutionary peoples of South and Southern Africa and the world.

It is a fact very often stated that South Africa's Afrikaner political leadership is composed of self-confessed Nazis. These men have not wavered in their Nazi convictions since the time that they supported Hitler before the war and were interned for their treacherous role as Nazi agents.

The history of the growth of Nazism in Germany has now passed into the stock of general human knowledge. We are, however, not sufficiently familiar with the methods and techniques employed by the South African Nazis in the building up of their supremacy in the economic and military fields.

In the latter, the dramatic high point is reached with the announcement about the 'secret weapon'. In the economic sphere, the new factor is this, as the Memorandum puts it, that:

> A process which has completely changed the economic face of South Africa since the Second World War and the extremist Nationalist Party's rise to power, in 1948, is the rise of Afrikaner (Boer) Nationalist capital and complete domination of State capital by Boer Nationalists, until they are the strongest factor in the South African economy.

> The old picture—Boer agriculture, British industry with U.S. participation, and controlled by Oppenheimer's gold and diamond empire—no longer reflects the facts. (p. 18.)

The critical breakthrough in the ownership of capital, and the control of the economy, then, has been achieved. As has been pointed out before (*The Rise of the South African Reich* by Brian Bunting: Penguin Books Ltd., England, 1964), state direction of the economy is a necessary part in the techniques required to ensure continuance of White minority dictatorship.

Hitler Nazism had among its aims the wiping out of socialism in the world, starting especially with the destruction of socialism in the Soviet Union, in the context of the world-wide contradictions among the imperialist powers. Nazism wanted to increase its sphere of influence by outright military conquest of the greatest number of states. Hence the massive build-up of an armaments industry in Nazi Germany.

The Nazis rallied around the 'theory' of the supremacy of the 'Aryan race' and the inferiority of others. This, as we know, resulted in the concentration and labour camps, such that the bourgeois monopolists realised their aims beyond their dreams. They did not have to worry about trade unions and organised labour. Practice was then based on the most negative features of capitalism, including the reduction of the proletariat to a condition of total slavery. This is one feature that marked out German capitalism in relation to capitalism in other countries in Europe and America, the latter being content only with such slave conditions in their colonies but not at home.

The Nazi advance was halted in 1945 by the victory of the anti-fascist forces against Hitler and his allies. In 1948, Hitler's erstwhile agents took political power in South Africa. What then was not clear was the *continued* alliance between the South African Nazis and those that remained in positions of authority in West Germany.

When, as is reported in the Memorandum, Rainer Barzel, leader in the Christian Democratic Party of West Germany said:

> Our methods can and must change; our legal, moral and historical positions remain unchanged. (p. 91),

he was providing a clue to the methods of the West German Nazis in their attempt to re-establish lost positions. What they are trying to reproduce in Southern Africa is as a carbon copy of what Hitler tried to do.

In the construction of a fascist state in South Africa, the question of the control of the economy featured sharply. The slow but consistent build-up of Afrikaner capital has already been documented by Bunting (op. cit.). He writes that:

In 1945 there was only one Afrikaner company with a capitalisation of £1 million, whereas there were 116 companies on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange with at least that capitalisation.
The Nationalists' great opportunity came with the capture of State power in 1948.
. . . the Nationalist political and business leaders entered into an alliance which has proved extremely beneficial to both over the years. (p. 285.)

It was, however, only up to a point that Afrikaner capital could make any relative gains, especially since it was in competition with other monopoly capital, such as British and American. Hence the emergence of the 'secret ally', and the pointed absence of derogatory reference to West Germany by Hertzog.

ISCOR, ESCOM, SASOL AND BONN

West German monopoly capital has established some of its closest ties with the South African Nazi structure through its participation in the state trusts. The capture of state power was vital to the growth of Afrikaner capital to the position of supremacy that it now enjoys. State trusts played a central role in this.

On ISCOR, the steel trust, the Memorandum reports:

ISCOR's first technical and office personnel came from the Ruhr area. Its South African engineers were trained in the Ruhr area. Down to the present day, the 'Gutehoffnungshutte', 'Demag', and other West German blast furnace firms deliver the S.M. furnaces, rolling mill trains and everything needed for further expansion of ISCOR. Technical innovations, such as the rotor process developed in the 'Gutehoffnungshutte', are also placed at ISCOR's disposal on the basis of contracts. (p. 19.)

Further:

ISCOR is also the state trust with which Oppenheimer's Anglo-American Corporation came to an agreement. The Deutsche (West German) Bank under Abs also supported ISCOR in a transaction of this kind with Oppenheimer by granting a credit of 50 million marks. (p. 21.)

The West Germans also play an important part in another state trust, ESCOM, producing electric power.

The West German A.E.G. (one of the two giant West German electrical industry trusts) has already provided most of the generators for the ESCOM power plants and in 1965 alone, it built equipment for ESCOM valued at 30 million rand—138 million marks. (p. 21.)

The other West German electrical trust, Siemens, is also involved in ESCOM through the expansion of the latter's 'hydro-electric and heat and atomic power stations'.

With the help of the Deutsche Bank and the Dresdner (West German) Bank, ESCOM had obtained advances which amounted to £348 million —about 3,900 million marks—by the end of 1964. Since then more advances have been obtained including 50 million marks from the

Dresdner Bank (together with a $20 million credit from the U.S.-dominated World Bank).

In the other state trust, SASOL, the role of West German capital is even more prominent. (It is important to note that the build-up of SASOL, unlike the other state trusts, began in the early 1950s when the Nationalists had already gained power.)

The first liquefying plant at SASOL was set up on the basis of the West German Fischer-Tropsch process.

> Eighty-five per cent of the machines and technical equipment came from West Germany. Licences came from the Ruhrchemie A.G. and the Lurgi Society for Thermal Technology (Frankfurt/Main), which alone planned and built more than a third of the SASOL works.
> The experts came from West Germany including poison gas specialists . . . and rocket fuel specialists. Dr. Felix Prentzel,* Ministerial Director in the Federal Economics Ministry, acted as organiser, adviser and liaison. (p. 22.)

Further evidence of the alliance between state and private capital in building up the citadels of Nazi power in South Africa is provided by the intervention of Ludwig Erhard, then Economics Minister, into the affairs of SASOL. This was in the mid-1950s when the South African government ran into some difficulty in obtaining the necessary construction steel in West Germany. On this, the Memorandum quoted from *Afrika Post* (Pretoria, 1956) that:

> Only after the intervention of the Federal Economics Minister . . . were the necessary quantities (of steel) allocated from German production and placed at the disposal of South Africa. (p. 22.)

This partnership between West German monopoly capital and the South African state trusts is not, however, straightforward. By credits granted by West German banks to the trusts the West German monopolists increase South Africa's debt to them. Further, to take only one year, 1965, West Germany's trade surplus with South Africa amounted to 595.3 million marks. The Memorandum, however, points out that only part of this surplus flows from South Africa to West Germany.

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* Prentzel began his career during the Nazi period in the Office for Foreign Relations, the notorious IG-Farben industrial espionage office. After 1949 he became Ministerial Director (deputy state secretary) in the Federal Economics Ministry. Prentzel is now a member of the board of directors of IG-Farben i.L. (a society which is mainly intended to look after the interests of West German monopoly capital enterprises which were expropriated in the G.D.R.); he is also Director-General of the Degussa Atom Trust and a member of the administrative council of the Otavi Mining Company, the biggest West German colonial company with steadily growing involvement in South Africa. All these companies are controlled by the Deutsche Bank, i.e. by Abs. (p. 22.)

> Such credits (and the surpluses) are used either at once for capital investments or after a certain period transformed into silent partnerships . . . (p. 16.)

Such are the tricks of 'the secret ally'. They extend further to the falsifying of statistics to camouflage the real purposes behind the Nazi coalition. (The South African racists have taken over some of these techniques. For instance, they have changed their sector categorisations so that they are incapable of being compared with any other in the world. By this means they seek to disguise the import/export trade they handle for Rhodesia's Ian Smith.)

This dependence of the Afrikaner capitalists on their West German allies is crucial. The dominance of the Afrikaner would not have been achieved so quickly if it did not have this ally. Indeed, historical experience would make us think rather that the giants of South African monopoly capital, such as the Oppenheimer trust, would have continued to increase their lead. This, however, has not happened and the intervention of West German capital is crucial in understanding this. One should not, of course, omit to mention that at the end of the war substantial Nazi funk-capital flowed to South Africa, where its safety was assured by the Nationalist take-over in 1948.

Behind the growth of this co-operation between West Germany and South Africa stand people who are old acquaintances, united in a Nazi *kameradschaft*. This is perhaps one of the most startling aspects of the Memorandum, exposing as it does the fact that Hitler's Nazis are still pursuing the demented designs of their grand master.

Vorster's past is well known enough. With him, however, stand other fellow-Nazis like Diederichs, South Africa's Finance Minister. A graduate of German universities and leader in the secret Afrikaner society, the Broederbond, Diederichs has been one of the main architects of the West German/South African alliance. He has risen to a position of prominence from lowly beginnings as a student in the Nazis' 'Anti-Komintern training school'.

In West Germany he has a close colleague in Hermann Abs, head of the Deutsche Bank, the leading West German bank. This same man had been described by the U.S. Department of Justice in 1945 as one of the big financiers and industrialists who exercised the strongest influence on the orientation of Hitler's policy. Abs was a member of the Nazi party from 1933 to 1945. Today he is the most powerful single man in the monopolist capitalist structure of West Germany, in banking, industry and in armaments production.

The Nazi scientists who are developing gas in Sasolburg and the experts imported into the South African state trusts are not the only West German agents in our country.

South Africa is also shielding Nazi war criminals, a number of whom were introduced into the South African defence forces. Thus it was that ex-s.s. officers could publicly meet West German Finance Minister Strauss in South Africa and present him with 'a badge of honour of the Kameradschaft'.

More important, however, as the Memorandum discloses:

> . . . the decisive posts in South Africa's state-owned trusts are almost without exception occupied by men who come either direct from the West German monopolies or were trained in them. (p. 61.)

There is a string of doctors—Meyer, Kruger, Jordan—in ISCOR's management; Strassacker at the head of ESCOM, Rousseau and Thomas in SASOL, etc.

As part of the expanding sphere of state monopoly capital is the Industrial Development Corporation (I.D.C.). (Over the last few years the I.D.C. has been involved in almost every major project undertaken in South Africa.)

> I.D.C. President is Dr. H. J. van Eck, who studied in Berlin and Leipzig. But the actual management and power of decision in this key organisation lies with Dr. G. S. J. Kusche, German financial expert and Director-General of the I.D.C. . . . (p. 62.)

German representatives are to be found also in the Atomic Power Board, representatives in the Afrikaner mining trust, Federale Mynbou Beperk, in other power points in South African life, including the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (C.S.I.R.). The head of the latter is Dr. S. M. Naudé. He is German-trained and is a member of the West German Physical Society. According to the Memorandum, 'Almost all important departments of the C.S.I.R. are headed by German experts'.

From the South African side, van den Bergh, chief of police, is a well-known Nazi. (In October 1966, he gave the Nazi salute at the funeral of his friend, Hans van Rensburg, the top man in the Ossewabrandwag.) M. C. Botha is now Minister of Bantu Administration and a leader of the extremist clique in the Nationalist Party, together with his friend Albert Hertzog. Others known for their Nazi sympathies include men like Piet Botha, Minister of Defence, and the Commanding Officers in his armed forces—Hiemstra who refused, in 1939, to fight against the Nazis, J. F. Biermann, head of the Ground Forces, H. H. Biermann of the Navy, and Hartzenberg, head of the Armed Forces Administration.

So brazen have the neo-Nazi forces become in South Africa, that in March of this year, West German Minister of Interior Lucke, on

a visit to South Africa could express his thanks that South Africa:

> . . . opened its doors to my countrymen who had lost everything in the fateful war. A friendship which has survived the most bitter want and despair will not be forgotten.

Finding not only willing partners in South Africa, but also labour conditions best approximating to what they had grown accustomed to in Hitler Germany, the West German monopolists have also launched a general economic offensive, striving for positions of leadership where other monopolists used to rule the roost.

The West German press is continuously trumpeting forth about South Africa's 'attractiveness' to the industrialists and financiers. It is a 'paradise for investors', a country where capital can be 'profitably invested', 'where there is still scope for business enterprise'. Diederichs himself told his West German friends that: 'There are still golden opportunities on the South African coast'. 'Nowhere do Coloured people have it so good as in South Africa', declared *Die Welt* not surprisingly on June 24th, 1966.

This propaganda barrage is accompanied by increasing West German investment in South Africa. The most dramatic of these ventures is copper-mining at Palaborwa in the Northern Transvaal. Here is found Africa's largest copper mine. Most of its output goes to West Germany. This is not surprising as the West Germans sit at the head of the international consortium which finances Palaborwa. The *Kreditanstalt fur Wiederaufbau* has sunk 108 million marks into the project. Abs is chairman of the board of directors of this company. Apart from this, 'West German participation is guaranteed by the (Abs's) Deutsche Bank . . . and the West German government'.

Two factors should in time become prominent in this continued onslaught by the West German monopolists.

Firstly, the (West) 'German miracle' of economic recovery since the war, is palling, as it has begun to do already, with increases in production costs, balance of payments problems, etc. (i.e. current problems indicating contradictions within the developed capitalist system). So West German capital will more readily 'emigrate' to South Africa where the 'Aryan race' is in alliance with the 'White race', in favour of the maximum suppression of the African and other non-White workers.

Secondly, to an increasing extent, it should be expected that more and more government contracts will go to West German firms or to firms jointly controlled by West German/Afrikaner monopolists. In this way the West Germans should enjoy advantages over competing monopolists. (This can also be done by manipulation of import licences which the South African government operates.)

Already we have examples of what is to come. Rheinstahl, second biggest West German steel firm—and controlled by Abs—has joined the Federale Mynbou—General Mining Group, and, in future will conduct its South African business through this joint enterprise. The Lurgi Company has also founded a subsidiary which is to attend to the filling of its big contracts for the state trusts.

Clearly then, the 'financial powers' of West Germany are not intent on 'selling out' the White man. This is so in more ways than one. We have seen already how Hitler's gas experts are now in South Africa or have passed their information to South Africa.

Co-operation in the military field has already been documented by the G.D.R. Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in their Memorandum of September 1964. More information is given in the new Memorandum. Co-operation extends from the sending of West German scientists to South Africa, to the processing of fissionable material, and the development of nuclear reactors and rockets. Behind all this are the West German big bourgeoisie, supported by the state.

In April of this year, one Prof. Hermann Oberth visited South Africa to inspect the development of the rocket which his firm Hermann Oberth Co., Bremen, is involved in. So reckless was he that he travelled with a delegation of the West German neo-Nazi N.P.D. of which he is a member. (Oberth was a rocket research pioneer under Hitler.)

South Africa's arms build-up has been treated in this journal before. What are its purposes, and does it fit into a pattern?

The Memorandum reminds us of what Hitler said in 1938, on the eve of the war he was soon to unleash. He said:

> Circumstances have forced me for decades to talk of almost nothing but peace. Only by constantly stressing the German will to peace and our peaceful intentions have I been able to give the German people, piece by piece, the equipment needed again and again as the condition for the next step forward. (p. 95.)

Today, Vorster talks of 'friendship' with various governments in Southern Africa. The sweet tongue has seduced Malawi's Banda, among others. (v. *The African Communist*, No. 30, 3rd Quarter, 1967.) Banda has now signed off Malawi's entire foreign trade to a company set up in South Africa early this year, IMEX. The same company will build Malawi's new capital at Lilongwe. For the latter, Malawi will be indebted to IMEX to the extent of 120 million marks. It is as if Shakespeare's Richard III were to cry:

A capital, a capital,
My kingdom for a capital.

West Germany and South Africa are building up Southern Africa to become their reserve. They have ignored the sanctions against

Rhodesia decided on by the United Nations. Thus West Germany has become Rhodesia's main trading partner, moving from third to first place in Rhodesia's exports between 1965 and 1966, and from fifth to first place in imports between the same years. (United Nations' Secretary-General's Report of December 16th, 1966, as quoted in the Memorandum.)

South Africa is intensifying her connections with Salazar's Mozambique, the latest venture being the massive Cahora Bassa hydro-electric scheme which is meant to supply power to the whole of Southern Africa, and which is dominated by the South African I.D.C. which we have dealt with above.

Krupp is heavily involved in iron-ore mining projects in Angola, while in Portugal itself West German imperialism has ousted the other imperialist powers from first position. (Co-operation between West Germany and Portugal extends back to the Portuguese colonies again and to the 1,100 German junkers who fled to the highlands of Southern Angola when the first German socialist state, the German Democratic Republic, was established.)

Establishing all these contacts the German and South African fascists are still talking peace to the rest of the world. In the meantime, secret military agreements between Portugal, South Africa, West Germany (and Rhodesia) have been signed. The Algerian paper, *Revolution Africaine*, has reported in March of this year:

> There are now over ten West German officers on the General Staff of the Rhodesian Armed Forces: about fifty West German officers are working as advisers to infantry units or as instructors in Ian Douglas Smith's Air Force.

While Vorster is talking peace, he is making preparations for war. If Africa will let itself be occupied by these neo-Nazis peacefully, then the only problem will be that of suppressing the national liberation movement within the borders of the White-minority-ruled countries of Southern Africa.

That, then, is what this invaluable Memorandum does—it lays bare the methods employed by resurgent fascism in Southern Africa, as closely aided by West Germany.

The purposes (even the methods) are as they were in 1938 when IG-Farben drew up the master plan for the ascendancy of Afrikaner Nazism in South Africa. Then a report was tabled by a commission which had visited South Africa on Hitler's behalf. The report stressed the importance of building up the state trusts, of exploiting deposits of rare ore and of 'possibilities of penetrating into strongholds of British-Jewish capital', and of camouflaging investment. As the Memorandum says:

It is striking with what consistency the South African racists have adhered to the plans worked out with the representatives of German monopoly capitalism in 1938, since they returned to power in 1948 after the interval caused by the Second World War. (p. 56.)

The Memorandum also goes on to point out other reports drawn up by experts to work out a 'consistent policy' on 'the natives'. One of these Nazi experts was Dr. Strohm who, in 1940, wrote of 'natives (who) have become so disreputable, fat, lazy and unwilling . . .'. The same Strohm was to become West Germany's second Ambassador to South Africa.

The Nazis have entered into the final stage of their plan in Southern Africa, conquest of territory by persuasion or by force—as their mercenaries in the Congo will tell.

They, however, think they have subjugated the mass of the people in Southern Africa to a condition of drugged subservience to fascism.

It is our task now, as it has always been, to destroy this monster in Southern Africa—to force peace not only in this part of the world, but in Africa as a whole.

It is equally the task of the anti-fascist forces that destroyed Hitler's mob, together with other revolutionary forces, to stand up again and ruthlessly suppress the Vorsters and Krupps who want to follow in the footsteps of Hitler and Goebbels.

In this task we have to rely on the strength and discipline of the popular masses who stand not only against fascism but also against U.S. imperialism and aggression, as in Vietnam, and for socialism, national independence and peace.

It is they, together with their vanguard parties, who will prove a lie the assertion made by the West German weekly *Rheinischer Merkur*, that apartheid in South Africa—'was a measure suited to saving the souls of the black Africans'.

ZIONISM AND THE FUTURE OF ISRAEL

SAMUEL BEN ADAM

ISRAEL'S 'RIGHT TO EXIST' is by no means the main or central issue in the current conflict in this part of the world; in fact presenting this as the main issue serves to obscure the real nature of the conflict. That is just why it is constantly presented as such by the present and past spokesmen of the Israeli ruling circles and their imperialist backers. Much impetus is given to this propaganda by the more reactionary spokesmen in some of the Arab countries. It is interesting to note that these are precisely the rulers supported by the imperialists. R. Palme Dutt brings out the point excellently in his Notes of the Month in the *Labour Monthly* (July 1967):

> . . . the most bloodthirsty slogans come from precisely the most reactionary rulers whom Western imperialism most favours and courts. Thus King Feisal of Saudi Arabia was feasted in London at the beginning of May, just before the conflict. He was accorded an interview on the BBC [television] and was asked: 'What is your policy in relation to Israel?' He replied, with his characteristic slow, cruel smile of a ruler of a regime still reeking of slavery and terror, in three words only: 'Extermination of Israel'. Did the British government or official circles express horror? On the contrary. He was invited to Buckingham Palace to meet the Queen and he was offered £134 million worth of arms to add to the £107 million arms supplied last year. This did not prevent Harold Wilson sounding his most solemn, sobbing notes a few days later to express his deep concern over Israel.

By contrast, Nasser, who—while demanding the restoration of Arab refugees and an end to Israel as a Western-backed trojan horse in the Arab world—envisages a future Jewish-Arab state in Palestine as a peaceful neighbour, is denounced as an 'ogre'.

Concentration on the admitted hostility of the Arabs to Israel hides the very factors which give rise to it: the role of Israel as a base for imperialist aggression against the Arab peoples and their liberation movements and a centre of neo-colonialist intrigue in the independent

African states. It is also an attempt to absolve the imperialist states of their intervention in the affairs of the countries of the 'Middle East' with their fabulous wealth in oil.

ISRAEL IN THE WORLD ARENA

In order to place the question in its proper context we must relate it to the world situation of which it is a part. In this period of world-wide transition from capitalism to socialism, marked by the emergence of a socialist world system and the break-up of the former colonial empires, imperialism is conducting a ferocious counter-revolutionary offensive against the peoples, against the forces of socialism and national liberation. This offensive is marked by such flagrant acts of intervention as the U.S. aggression in the Dominican Republic, the Ghana coup, the Smith coup in Zimbabwe, the Indonesian counter-revolution, the NATO-planned military-fascist coup in Greece, and above all the continuous escalation of the bloody war against the people of Vietnam.

Against this concerted drive to enslave and recolonise the world, stand the great masses of the working people: the socialist countries, the national liberation movements, the revolutionary working class headed by the international Communist movement. By and large (despite the split in the Communist movement brought about by the Mao Tse-tung group, which has thus rendered a service only to reaction) the central issue of our times is precisely this conflict between imperialism and counter-revolution on the one hand, and the forces of democracy, national freedom and socialism on the other. It is by this touchstone that all states and all parties must be judged.

Since its inception the Zionist leaders of Israel have consistently pursued a pro-imperialist policy, both on international issues and regarding their Arab neighbours.

The government of Israel has been in the forefront of the ideological war against communism and the cold war against the Soviet Union. It has toed the American line against admission of the Chinese People's Republic to the United Nations. It has steadily stepped up its collaboration with the West German revanchists, especially in the military field—for example, the training of Israeli officers by Bonn instructors, many of whom served in Hitler's Wehrmacht; participation of West German scientists in nuclear research in this country; and substantial trade in arms.

Though it pays lip-service to United Nations resolutions on apartheid (in order to conciliate African opinion) Israel maintains diplomatic and economic relations with the racist Republic of South Africa, which is an important supplier of uranium oxide to Israel's nuclear programme. (It is significant that Israel refused to accept President Nasser's proposal

to declare the Middle East an atom-free zone.) Through NATO, Israel supplies arms to the Portuguese colonialists for their savage war against the people of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau).

Ky's outspoken admiration of Hitler didn't stop Dayan paying an 'unofficial' visit to Saigon last year, and the Chairman of Israel's Parliamentary Foreign and Security Committee lent support to U.S. aggression in Vietnam by declaring that 'the defeat of the U.S. in Vietnam would be the end of the independence of all the peoples of South-East Asia and the dead end of the independence and freedom of man all over the world'. (*Davar*, May 24th, 1966.)

IN THE ARAB WORLD

But it is, in the first place, in relation to the neighbouring Arab states that Israel's role as imperialist agent and policeman has most clearly been apparent.

The best-known illustration was, of course, the participation in the infamous Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt in 1956, which has left a profound heritage of bitterness and resentment among the neighbouring countries. The unrepentant attitude of the Israeli authorities was evidenced by U Thant, when he told the recent special session of the General Assembly of the continued provocations by Israel along its borders with the U.A.R.

There have been continuous warnings from Tel Aviv that a change in the *status quo* in Jordan—i.e., the establishment of a popular government in place of the monarchical-feudal regime—would lead to Israeli intervention. This was demonstrated by the Sammon raid in 1966, when mass unrest threatened to topple King Hussein.

Particular hysteria and bellicose utterings within Israel greeted the coming to power of the left and anti-imperialist government in Syria, which took active steps to assert the national interests against the oil monopolies and other foreign interests. General Rabin, Israeli Chief of Staff, called for the overthrow of the Syrian government and threatened military intervention. There can be little doubt that Israel was planning to execute this threat well before the June crisis.

From the outset, the Zionist leaders have pursued the aim of establishing an exclusive Jewish state, with a callous disregard for the birthright and interests of the inhabitants which ill befits the self-proclaimed spokesmen of a group which itself has suffered so bitterly from persecution. It was clear that the establishment of an exclusively Jewish state in Palestine could only be realised through the dispossession of the Arab people. It was inevitable that any such proposal would meet with unyielding resistance from the Arabs, both inside and outside Palestine, whose national consciousness had risen to unprecedented

heights in the wave of revolutionary liberation that swept the former colonised world following the defeat of the Axis powers.

At the London Conference of September-October 1946 to discuss the future of Palestine, Arab spokesmen proposed an independent and democratic Palestine state, guaranteeing the rights and the future of both Arabs and Jews. The Zionists rejected this proposal and pursued their objective of the creation of an exclusively Jewish state.

In May 1948, in the climate of international opinion at the time, the world community, through the United Nations, eventually decided on the partition of Palestine and the State of Israel was born. Naturally, a considerable factor was the universal sympathy with the tragic fate which millions of Jews had suffered under the Hitler regime. One cannot minimise the ghastly suffering and massacres of my people under the Nazi 'final solution'—but this tragedy must not be allowed to serve as a cover for the aggressive and expansionist actions of the Zionist leaders.

By military means Israel proceeded to expand the territory provided for in the United Nations' resolution partitioning Palestine, at the expense of her Arab neighbours. Within Israel, hundreds of thousands of indigenous Arabs were expelled from their homes and farms; the majority of them victims of a deliberate policy of terrorism and eviction, of which the massacre at the village of Deir Yassin was the most brutal example.

The continued existence and plight of these refugees (now multiplied by the latest Israeli aggression) is and must remain one of the principal bones of contention between Israel and her neighbours. Western opinion is singularly unsympathetic towards what it has decided is an 'intransigent' Arab attitude to the existence of the state of Israel. But how is it possible for a 'positive attitude' to be developed when Premier Eshkol declares:

> It must be made perfectly clear to the whole world, including the Arabs, that there is one solution that can certainly not be entertained: It is quite impossible to settle the refugees in Israel.

Parallel to this outrageous attitude towards the refugees, is the shabby regime of discrimination—it has many similarities with apartheid—directed against the 300,000 Arabs who still live in Israel, which would require a separate article in itself.

Israel's Arab neighbours cannot regard this as a purely internal matter, any more than Africans in the independent states can remain indifferent to the degrading ill-treatment and humiliation of their brothers and sisters south of the Zambesi. Nor can they be expected to

disregard Israel's action in unilaterally appropriating the Jordan waters, without recognising or respecting the riparian rights of the Arab states bordering the river.

ZIONISM

These actions are clear indications of the 'politics' which the government of Israel continued by its aggression in June. The events both before and after the blitzkrieg indicate clearly who intended aggression, and give the lie to claims that Israel was adopting a merely defensive stance.

In fact aggressiveness is implicit in the ideology of modern political Zionism, to which insufficient attention has been paid. It is an inherently reactionary theory. Herzl and the World Zionist Organisation which he founded in 1897 did not see that 'anti-Semitism' (like all other forms of racialism) is a product of reactionary forces in a dying social order. They accepted the myth of the anti-Semites—that Jews were 'unassimilable'—and proposed the physical removal of the Jewish population from Gentile societies. Exploiting the mystical Biblical concepts of 'God's chosen people', and the Messianic 'return to Zion', these fanatical zealots fanned the flames of chauvinism and exclusiveness among Jewish communities everywhere. At the same time they did their utmost to prevent Jews from participating in movements of a democratic and socialist character—which in fact were and remain the only hope for the elimination of anti-Semitism and all other varieties of racialism. Thus, the leadership of Bela Kun in the first Hungarian Soviet Republic was declared, because of his Jewish origin, 'an incalculable disaster for the Jews in Hungary' (*The Course of Modern Jewish History*, by H. W. Sachar, 1963). Ignoring the high moral precept of Judaism ('God loveth the stranger . . . love ye therefore the stranger'—Deuteronomy, X, 18, 19) the Zionist-dominated Jewish Board of Deputies in South Africa has consistently shielded the fascist Republic, attacked Israel when international pressures compelled its leaders to pay lip-service to anti-apartheid resolutions at the United Nations, and deplored the presence of some freedom-fighters of Jewish origin among the ranks of the liberation movement. Similarly Zionist circles in the U.S. showed the utmost consternation when Johnson 'noted' the presence of Jewish objectors to his barbaric war in Vietnam, and doubtless exerted the severest pressures to restrain them.

So, too, the Zionist leaders and the government of Israel have placed themselves in the forefront of the 'cold war' against the Soviet Union—assumed concern over 'the fate of Soviet Jewry' being their special department. The real source of their anti-Soviet and anti-Communist hate campaigns is that the U.S.S.R. is the first state in which the conditions for the effective elimination of anti-Semitism have been

created. The absence of the 'Jewish Question' in the Soviet Union without Soviet Jewry losing its identity (except in the paranoid minds of the Zionists) is proof positive of the fundamental error of the Zionist 'solution'. Not the narrow, exclusive nationalism of the Zionists (confining the Jews to a new world ghetto of their own making) but the broad internationalism of the working masses will remove the 'Jewish Question' from the order of the day.

Their 'solution' required (and still requires) that the Zionists seek the support of and place themselves at the service of international reaction —from Kaiser Wilhelm II, the Sultan of Turkey, French monopoly capitalism and the British Colonial Office, to the C.I.A. and modern U.S. imperialism, and the neo-Nazi revanchists of Western Germany.

In 1914 Weizmann wrote:

> . . . we can reasonably say that should Palestine fall within the British sphere of influence, and should Britain encourage Jewish settlement there . . . we could have in twenty to thirty years a million Jews out there . . . a very effective guard for the Suez Canal. (*Trial and Error*, Weizmann's autobiography, 1949.)

In 1917, Britain issued the Balfour Declaration, stating that 'His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people'.

EXPANSIONISM

The Zionist delegation to the January 1919 Peace Conference proposed that the borders of the future Jewish State should include Southern Lebanon, Mount Hermon, Aqaba and Trans-Jordan. And they have never ceased casting acquisitive eyes on others' territory. One year after the United Nations had agreed to the partition of Palestine, the Israeli Prime Minister asserted: 'The establishment of the State of Israel was *merely the first stage* in the fulfilment of our historic vision . . . The ingathering of our exiles is the prerequisite to the realisation of this great dream.' (Ben Gurion: *Israel, the Tasks Ahead*, 1949.)

The official Israeli *Government Yearbook* stated in 1952 'the State of Israel has been established in only a portion of the Land of Israel', and again in 1955 'The creation of the new state by no means derogates from the scope of the historic Eretz (Land of) Israel'.

This mystical-religious (indeed, insane) looking backwards to the alleged frontiers of the ancient scriptural Hebrew Commonwealth helps to explain the ravings of extremist elements in Israel ('We shall not retreat one centimetre') following the recent sneak attack and blitzkrieg at the beginning of June, and the incursions of the army into Syria, Jordan and Egypt to occupy territories *three times the total area of Israel.*

Gloating over these conquests the *Jerusalem Post* (June 22nd, 1967) declared that a 'Third Jewish Commonwealth' (shades of the Third Reich!) is now being envisaged. The Arab populations of the occupied areas were expelled by terror, napalm and bayonets, and despite extreme international pressure are still not being readmitted. Military occupation regimes along typical colonialist lines have been established.

What is more the Zionist leaders display not the slightest signs of a willingness to retreat from the ill-gotten conquests of the June aggression; on the contrary they show every sign of preparing to settle in.

Already in June, Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir, announced at a press conference in Haifa that Israel would soon begin tapping oil wells in '*conquered Sinai*'. He said the oil would go to meet Israel's domestic needs—currently 3.3. million tons a year (Last year the Sinai wells at Belaim, jointly owned by the U.A.R. and the Italian state-owned group E.N.I., produced 4.5 million tons.)

On June 24th one of the 'kibbutz' (farmers') federations called for the establishment of new settlements on the newly-occupied territories, and this was followed by a call from the secretary of the Union of Kibbutz movements, who told a press conference on July 18th that these movements were 'waiting for Government approval to establish thirty new settlements, including a number of villages in the liberated [*sic*] areas'. It is significant that the kibbutzim in the Jordan and Hula valleys have organised 'excursions' for their members into Syrian territory.

The *Jerusalem Post* (July 21st) reports a scheme to exploit the manganese deposits and installations at the port of Abu Zenima.

A WORLD PROBLEM

One of the most disturbing aspects of the chauvinist Zionist attitude is its complete disregard, in its sick national egocentrism, not only for the Arab populations of North Africa and West Asia, but also for the whole of the rest of humanity and the cause of world peace.

The whole picture of events prior to and following the Israeli 'Pearl Harbour' type sneak attack of June 5th, completely expose the claim that it was merely a defensive response to any actual or intended attack by the Arab states. The appointment of Dayan, the main advocate of 'pre-emptive war' (i.e., undeclared aggression), together with the ultra-rightist Begin to the Israeli Cabinet on the eve of hostilities was a clear pointer to what might be expected.

There had been other signals. In October last Eshkol announced that the Israeli government would take military action against Syria, in the name of 'self-defence'. In November there was a large-scale attack on the village of Es Samu in Jordan, leading to a 14-0 vote of censure against Israel in the Security Council. On April 7th this year there was

a further air attack against Syria, and a month later Eshkol told the *Jewish Chronicle* that the only 'deterrent' available to Israel against Syria was a powerful lightning military strike—powerful enough to produce a change of heart or even of government in Damascus and quick enough to prevent other countries from rallying to Syria's support.

At that stage, the plan was foiled. The U.A.R. and other countries took urgent measures (though not sufficient) to achieve unity; the Soviet Union declared a firm policy of support for its Arab neighbours in the event of aggression.

It was clear by June that there was the strongest possibility of any attack on an Arab country escalating not only to affect all Arab countries but to involve the great nuclear powers as well.

Thus the Israeli 'pre-emptive strike' in June was an act of criminal recklessness which might easily have plunged the world into the hell of World War III. That it did not do so is no thanks to the Israeli leaders or their imperialist backers, but solely to the great sense of responsibility of the socialist Soviet Union and of President Nasser and other Arab leaders, who declared they did not want Soviet or other troops involved in the area. With their backing the Soviet representative succeeded in getting the Security Council to adopt a minimal resolution for a cease-fire* with which the Israelis, reluctantly and after considerable delay, complied. But even now, at the time of writing (August 25th) the Israeli ruling circles arrogantly and defiantly refuse to retreat from the territory they have thus seized and occupied. They brazenly deploy their troops along the bank of the Suez Canal, thus blocking a great international waterway, with serious and unpredictable effects on the world economy.

Inflamed with the vainglorious intoxication of their military 'victory', the Zionist leaders imagine that they can indefinitely hold not only the 100 million Arabs but the whole democratic world to ransom and blackmail.

For it is clear that this is not only an 'Arab-Israeli' problem, but a world problem. Following the June aggression, Israel's Foreign Minister, Abba Eban, called for 'a new structure in the Middle East'. What sort of 'new structure' he has in mind is clear from Israel's lightning-quick expropriation and exploitation of Arab resources and land, from the daily radio exhortations of the Arabic service of the 'Voice of Israel' urging the people of Syria and the U.A.R. to overthrow their governments, and from the close alignment of Israel (itself a neo-

*Vigorous opposition by the U.S. and pressure on its client states blocked the adoption of a Soviet resolution correctly condemning Israeli aggression.

colony of U.S. monopoly capitalism) with imperialism. The new order they want is the old order: colonial domination over all the Arabian lands.

In other words, what is really at stake is not 'Israel's right to exist' *but the right of the Arab peoples to free themselves completely from imperialism.*

And this, the real issue, is closely interwoven with that great central issue of our times: the right of all oppressed peoples to freedom and self-determination. It is interwoven with the fight of the Vietnamese people against Yankee colonialism; the fight of the Southern African peoples to freedom from fascist Portugal and the slave-systems of Vorster and Smith; the fight of the African-descended Americans against ghettoes and Jimcrow.

That is exactly why—if the Jewish people would only open their eyes and see it for themselves!—the just cause of the Arab peoples is supported by the whole of oppressed, democratic and peace-loving humanity; and the cause of Israeli aggression is supported by the most reactionary and imperialist forces, *including the most virulent anti-Semites and Jew-haters the world over*, ranging from the Bonn revanchists, whose state is riddled with 'rehabilitated' Nazis, to the unrepentant Hitler-lover Balthazar Vorster, the hangman of South Africa.

> It is . . . my duty and my pleasure to pay tribute to the valiant and moral stand of the American people, headed and led by the President of the United States . . . which did all in its power to prevent aggression and advance peace in the Middle East.

Thus Prime Minister Eshkol, addressing the Jubilee Convention of the Zionist Organisation of America on July 21st. And L.B.J., expert on this special use of the words 'aggression' and 'peace', from experiences in Vietnam, Cuba, Dominica, etc., etc., replied in his own personal message to the Convention:

> *I fully appreciate the pride and joy that is yours on this occasion.*

Johnson does ill to encourage the Zionists in their tasteless and intoxicating indulgence in exultation. For after the spree comes the hangover. The euphoria of 'victory' is based on illusion; the sooner the people of Israel themselves begin to calculate the real consequences and costs of the adventure of June 1967 the better it will be for them, for the Middle East and the world.

WHAT SORT OF 'VICTORY'?

What sort of 'victory' has Israel gained by the aggression?

It did not succeed in its primary objectives of toppling the progressive governments of Syria and the United Arab Republic; indeed

history may well show that it united the people more closely than ever with their most progressive and revolutionary leaders, and isolated the treacherous, pro-imperialist elements.

It did not succeed in disrupting Arab unity; instead, despite profound differences which still remain, it has gone far towards healing some of the main causes of friction among the Arab states.

It has not improved Israel's position, from any sort of sane, long-term point of view, economically, politically or strategically. It is inconceivable that the world community can long permit the Zionists to occupy the Arab lands and resources they have seized by force and perfidy. And the anger and humiliation felt by Israel's Arab neighbours at the aggression and the brutality of conquest will go far to ensure that their future resistance will be more implacable, tough, realistic and sophisticated.

It is too early to assess how soon or how effectively the people of this country will begin to contemplate and absorb these hard truths.

The wave of nationalist hysteria in Israel coincided with a wave of terror against the Communist Party led by Toubi and Vilner, which alone stood heroically against the aggression. Restriction orders of the Vorster type ('. . . may not leave the area of . . . for a period of . . . without permission . . .'), summary arrests, beatings-up and torture of the detained (in public streets and in cells) are reported daily. Of course the Arab members are being hit hardest, and the Party's Arabic-language newspaper has been banned in the occupied areas. Their position has not been made any easier by the activities of the renegade Mikunis-Sneh group who broke away from the Party and are now most vociferous in their support of the war and their denunications of the Soviet Union and of their former comrades.

ZIONISM—THE REAL THREAT TO ISRAEL

Nevertheless, the day of reckoning and enlightenment must come. Many thinking people here are already having second thoughts, and beginning to realise that if the State of Israel is to have any future at all it can only lie along the path of friendship, peace and reconciliation with the Arab peoples who form the overwhelming majority of the population of this area. And such a path cannot be found through a policy of aggressive expansionism and subordination to imperialism, and of racial apartheid exclusiveness internally.

Israel's 'right to exist' has long been recognised internationally. Even in the heat of anger at the latest outrageous aggression, the Soviet Premier Kosygin repeated at the United Nations General Assembly on June 19th:

The Soviet Union is not against Israel—it is against the aggressive policy pursued by the ruling circles of that State.

The real threat to Israel's future lies precisely in that policy.

Because thay have placed Israel at the disposal of imperialism, the Zionists have placed the existence of the people of Israel in danger. It is the Zionist leadership that jeopardises Israel's security. They have clearly demonstrated that while their present policy is pursued, Arab independence can only be achieved by eternal vigilance and struggle against them.

Zionism will yet, if it is not checked, become the gravedigger of the State of Israel.

The international community, not least the peoples and governments of free Africa, has a special responsibility for the peace and progress of the Middle East, a possible flashpoint of a major international conflict. The United Nations acted as midwife to the State of Israel. It must now—if world peace and the United Nations are to survive—bring home to Israel her responsibilities to the peoples of the world and to respect the rights and interests of the peoples among whom she exists.

This duty is not only one to the world and to the Arab peoples. It is also a duty to the people of Israel itself, to those of us who seek nothing better than to live here in peace and friendship, seeking the progress of all the peoples in our region.

Tel Aviv, August 1967.

Ali Yata on

THE MOROCCAN REVOLUTION

IN HIS BOOKLET *Present-day problems of the National Democratic Revolution in Morocco*, Ali Yata sets himself the task of finding out why, after the successful struggle for national liberation from 1953 to 1956, Morocco has known ten years of economic, social and political stagnation. He points out that it is necessary to understand the conditions of this stagnation before any revolutionary movement can define the next stage of the struggle.

In the period from 1945 to 1953, the mass demand for national liberation was born. It was accompanied by the growth of a national movement and by the struggles of the Moroccan working class.

The metropolitan power, France, responded by trying to accentuate its domination over the Protectorate and to reduce Morocco to a complete colonial status.

The Moroccan Communist Party and Istiqlal were banned. Mohammed V was sent into exile. The reply from the patriotic masses was, however, such that the French could not stem the tide (especially as they got more involved in the war of aggression in Algeria). They were thus forced to grant independence to Morocco in 1956.

In the period of independence, the revolutionary people split from the bourgeois-led Istiqlal and formed the National Union of Popular Forces (U.N.F.P.). This popular upsurge resulted in a short-lived attempt to maintain a popular government.

Reaction however set in again with the renewed banning of the Communist Party and an attempt to impose an unpopular constitution. The people replied with the semi-insurrectional struggles of 1965, and the government reacted by declaring a state of emergency.

A number of other factors have characterised the situation in Morocco during this period. The feudal elements have grown stronger, but there is widespread discontent both in the countryside (where the basic demand is for agrarian reform) and among the urban masses. On the other hand, the progressive forces have suffered severe setbacks.

Nonetheless, in Morocco there exist the conditions for a qualitative change that must be seen in relation to the world-wide struggle against imperialism and against neo-colonialism.

The specific problems that Morocco is faced with arise out of the country's feudal structure and the vestiges of French colonial domination. The control and development of the economy is now in the grip of foreign trusts; agrarian reform, unemployment, famine, illiteracy and the standard of living are burning questions. To be encompassed also are the questions of Morocco's frontiers and the unification of the country, and issues of civil liberties and the constitution.

As for the economy, foreign monopoly capitalists dominate. The French bourgeoisie has a stake amounting to 2,000 milliard francs invested in industry and agriculture, representing the dominant share among the imperialist powers. This has resulted in a series of negative features. The foreign monopolists are annually withdrawing capital to the extent of eight to ten per cent of Morocco's national income. Because of a *laissez faire* economic structure required by these foreign monopolists, both the internal and the external debts have trebled during the period of independence. The former has risen to 232.97 milliard francs and the latter to 427.66 milliard. There has also been a steady drop in foreign assets, from the value of 126.8 milliard francs in 1961 to 61.1 milliard in 1966.

Attempts at nationalisation have not resulted in any significant advance, especially in terms of industrial investment. The annual rate of economic growth since independence has only amounted to 1.6 per cent, though the last Five Year Plan provided for a yearly growth rate of ten per cent. The continued reliance on foreign loans has not helped Morocco to develop. Industrial production has been falling, while exports in the post-war period have dropped 4.9 per cent in volume and 0.9 per cent in value. The current Three Year Plan (1965-67) has fallen short in planned investment by 51 milliard francs per annum. State accumulation of capital is minimal, thus undermining the whole basis of a potential source of industrial development.

FEUDAL AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is partly characterised by its feudal social structure. Thus, within itself it cannot solve problems of technical backwardness and problems raised by climatic conditions. During the period of independence there has been no increase in the production of cereals, Morocco's main type of agricultural crop. In fact total production has been declining. In 1939, thirty-seven million quintals were reaped. In 1965, however, output was down to twenty-seven million quintals, and in 1966 this had dropped further to fifteen million.

In this period, Morocco's population increased by between 350,000 and 400,000 a year. Thus there is increasing dependence on imports.

Morocco's landed bourgeoisie together with French colonial landowners are not capable of satisfying even the basic food requirements of the ordinary people. This enables the American imperialists to use Morocco as a dumping ground for surplus agricultural products.

The general poverty of the mass of the people together with the low level of industrialisation, mean that Morocco has to export almost her total output of primary products: citrus fruits and sea products, mineral ores and phosphates. This general poverty shows itself in low levels of life expectancy, among other things. While the average level of life expectancy is forty-seven years throughout the country, it drops to forty-three years in the countryside.

The Moroccan economic crisis means considerable unemployment and under-employment, reflected in falling standards of living. Firms are closing down and Morocco is serving as a labour reservoir for foreign monopolists who import this labour. The rural-urban exodus is increasing, partly owing to agricultural seasonal workers seeking temporary industrial jobs.

With regard to education, after ten years, only 1,100,000 children are at school out of 2,500,000 children of school-going age. In secondary education there are only 174,000 children. There has also been a substantial lowering of standards of education.

There have been very few changes in housing conditions. The population has grown, yet the consumption of cement has dropped. There are very poor housing conditions in the countryside and in the towns there are slums and shanty-towns. Casablanca has a shanty-town of 72,000 lodgings accommodating over 300,000 people. While there is over-spending on luxury buildings, stagnation and anarchy reign in the planning of housing for the mass of the people.

While the right to form trade unions is recognised, and there are some civil liberties, Morocco knows no popular democracy. The state system is feudal in character, with the constitution of 1962 imported and imposed on the people in fake elections. A state of emergency still exists. Many newspapers have been declared illegal and censorship is widespread. No real democratic meetings are possible.

For Morocco the question of her frontiers is vital. Three-quarters of her territory has been amputated from her by imperialist intervention. There are the 'missing provinces' of Ifni, Saquat Al Hamra, Rio de Oro, Mauretania, Touat and Tindouf as well as the 'Spanish possessions' of Sebta, Melilla and the Zafferine Islands. Nothing has been done to drive the imperialists out of these territories.

The ruling clique claims to have a foreign policy based on non-

alignment, on support for people struggling against imperialism and on recognition of the principle of peaceful co-existence. In actual fact this clique follows Bonn and Washington, stands against the socialist countries and maintains a 'passive' position concerning the struggling people of Vietnam.

The administration of the country reveals corruption, bureaucracy and negligence. The general crisis has also had an effect on Moroccan political organisations. This is especially so in Istiqlal, the U.N.F.P. (which is the party of the progressive petit-bourgeoisie and the young intellectuals) and the Moroccan Labour Union, which is also a party. It is indeed true that there has been violent repression but anarchy, errors, division and lack of organisation have made it difficult for these organisations to defend themselves, so as to be best able to advance the revolution.

THE INTERNATIONAL BACKGROUND

Since the war, there has been a retreat of fascism on a world scale, despite the 'cold war' and the attempt at imperialist world domination headed by United States imperialism. The general advance of the progressive forces is carrying the day.

There remain, however, many tasks ahead. It is necessary to mobilise the masses of the people against neo-colonialism, a task which is common to the whole movement for national liberation. Working for the victory of the revolution in the Third World, entails the organisation of the vanguard forces, their liaison with the masses, and a vast front of the progressive forces of the three continents, in direct co-operation with the world socialist system, the working-class movements in the capitalist countries, and the entire working-class movement. Only in this way can the revolutionary struggle for peace achieve its full significance, and the policy of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems realise its aim of averting a Third World War.

The ideological and political differences of the last few years have prevented the communist movement from taking decisive action. For some of these problems to be solved, it should be recognised there should be equality, independence and a policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of the different parties. Further, a more serious appreciation of the dangers of imperialism and the nature and scale of the war in Vietnam are particularly urgent.

MOROCCO'S REVOLUTION

In this general context, the urgent task in Morocco is not the building of socialism, but the full realisation of the national democratic revolution. The following stage will be that of achieving a socialist revolution.

The completion of the democratic revolution requires that the banks and the mines, external trade, insurance and large industrial undertakings and other monopolies should be nationalised. By various means we should ensure against the draining away of our capital resources and other benefits.

A new development plan for both the industrial and the rural sector should be realised. Capital accumulation should be both from internal sources and from foreign loans. Any foreign loans with strings attached must, however, be resolutely rejected. Capital must be used for new equipment and not for the working budget. Further, efforts must be made to reduce the internal debt and to create a larger internal market. About twenty per cent of the national income should go to investment. An increase in salaries, full employment and a decrease in taxes for local artisans are all objectives to be worked for.

In the rural areas the land must be confiscated and redistributed. Individual properties must be limited in size, the collective lands distributed among the labourers working them and large properties handed over to management committees. There must be protection for the soil, vegetation and animals. Irrigation schemes must be carried out and farmers supplied with fertilisers as well as with loans for agricultural development. Professional, scientific farm management is also a prerequisite for the further advance of Moroccan agriculture.

All children of school-going age must be educated within the framework of the national culture and genius. Foreign languages must be abolished in primary education to be replaced by the national language. There must further be proper technical training, grants-in-aid for education, proper training for our teachers, and our own workers must be given technical industrial training.

It is necessary that various diseases should be wiped out. These are such diseases as tuberculosis, venereal diseases and trachoma. A serious attack on malnutrition should also be embarked upon. Medicine must be taken to the rural areas and social insurance must become general. There are only thirty inhabitants to the square kilometre in Morocco. Thus there is no need for a campaign to limit the birth rate, provided that the response to the lack of resources and to the whole question of resource utilisation is a correct one.

In relation to housing, the shanty towns must be cleared and decent hygienic lodgings provided. Better water, drainage and electricity networks must be provided while rents should be lowered.

Unemployment is growing. This needs to be countered. In the meantime, we also require a thirty per cent increase in salaries and an increase in family allowances and social insurance. Trade unions must

have the full right to decide the needs of workers in undertakings, and the unemployed must be reabsorbed in useful and productive work.

The state of emergency must come to an end. A national legislative assembly should be elected by universal suffrage. Regional assemblies and municipal and rural councils should also be freely elected. A new constitution is also required. The ban on the Communist Party must be lifted and the right of political parties to free action recognised. Press censorship must also be ended. The present electoral law increases the influence of the feudal elements, encourages a tribal spirit and facilitates fraudulent practices. Proportional representation would go some way towards solving these problems.

The masses of the people must be mobilised against Spanish occupation of Moroccan territory. Further through propaganda, the breaking of diplomatic and similar other actions, Spanish imperialism must be forced to relinquish Moroccan lands. Negotiations with Algeria on these questions should also be entered into.

In her external policy, Morocco must abandon the idea of appeasement which encourages colonialism and neo-colonialism. Morocco must struggle against American imperialism and take up a position of positive neutralism. There is no official recognition of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam while the Ky clique in Saigon is recognised. This policy must be changed, and the National Liberation Front must be recognised as the only representative of the people of South Vietnam.

Co-operation with the socialist countries must be strengthened while the Arab Maghreb—Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco—must also be unified, in slow stages, beginning with economic and cultural relations. Efforts must be made to consolidate Arab unity against the Islamic Pact, and peace must return to the Arab Republic of the Yemen. Normal fraternal relations with the Republic of Syria must be re-established. Morocco must accept her responsibilities as an African country, help and support all liberation movements—especially those of Rhodesia and South Africa—and give new life to the Organisation of African Unity.

The laws of historical development necessitate a national democratic revolution in two stages—first, liberation from direct colonial rule and then total national liberation, territorial and economic.

In Ali Yata's words:

> During this second stage of the national democratic revolution, national interest remains the motivating force of progressive social evolution; whereas, at the time of the transition from the national democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, it will be in the interests of the working and labouring class intimately linked to the national interest (p. 67).

UNION OF ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES

None of the political parties, on their own, can carry through this second stage involving the struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism. The only way to ensure the triumph of the national democratic revolution is through the union of the national anti-imperialist and anti-feudal forces.

On May Day, 1966, the General Secretary of the Moroccan Labour Union, Mahjoub Ben Seddiq, and president Abdallah Ibrahim called for such a union on a concrete basis. A firm agreement must be reached between all the political parties on the basis of a precise programme and must join in common action through a body consisting of representatives of all popular organisations. They must draw up a programme of work towards the setting up of a provisional government and the election of a constituent legislative assembly. Such a union would only be strong if it ensured the active participation of the mass of the people through discussion. The working class, the peasantry, the petite bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie can and must combine forces.

At the present stage such a union would be revolutionary. The coalition must include the Moroccan Labour Union, the National Union of Popular Forces and the outlawed Communist Party. When Seddiq spoke in May he said:

> We have the strong conviction that all those who share our desire for change and who are only separated from us by non-fundamental differences will appreciate our action, because this action is based on the ideals of the whole nation; because it is directed towards the roots of the evils from which our people are suffering; and because, apart from the solutions it intends to bring about, there is no salvation.

A long-term strategic alliance is necessary. This should lead towards the creation in the future of a unified revolutionary party on the ideological basis of scientific socialism. The conditions are not yet ripe for the creation of this party, but discussions can be started.

Social justice and equality are in no way opposed to the principles of Islam. Islam stigmatises injustice; the Koran attacks the rich and the exploiters. The great Arab philosopher, Ibn Khaldoun, saw the principal value in the labour of man. Morocco must find the Moroccan way to socialism.

BOOK REVIEWS

Nkrumah: A One-sided Attack

The Rise and Fall of Kwame Nkrumah: A Study of Personal Rule in Africa, by Henry L. Bretton (Pall Mall Press, London, cloth 35s., paperback 11s. 6d.).

PERHAPS THE ONE thing you cannot say about Bretton's attack on Nkrumah is that he climbed on the bandwagon. From his own admission he was at work carpentering the bandwagon some ten years ago when he took a look at Nkrumah and decided that he and his close collaborators 'wanted power and were acquiring it as quickly as possible'. Admonished on one occasion by Nkrumah, in a state of academic underemployment 'a consequence of Presidential pressure and intervention in university affairs' the writer's intention hardened, and here, after ten years, is his judgment. In part documented with skill, in many parts stating truths about the C.P.P. as a party (that was not organised from the base up but increasingly by-passed through reliance on state methods), about corruption, leadership cult and patronage and coercion, it is warped and twisted by the writer's refusal, in his eagerness to make the case for the prosecution, to use techniques of analysis which he used with skill in an earlier book.

This was Bretton's *Power and Stability in Nigeria*, published in 1962 when he said, among other things that 'the formal structure of a society is as stable and as permanent as fundamental social and economic and political conditions warrant' and he then went on to discuss the consequences in a political system of the two being at odds. Every now and then, even in this book about Nkrumah, some of this approach comes through and he admits 'the naked facts of African political life in time proved to be his (Nkrumah's) undoing', and describes with insight how the system inherited from the British 'rested essentially on a highly centralised, hierarchical, authoritarian administration that was deliberately somewhat militaristic'. Which, Bretton should have no difficulty in admitting, is a wretched basis on which to start building

independence and one of the first things that Nkrumah did was to scrap the 1956 constitution (why, if he favoured authoritarianism?).

For Bretton's thesis is that Nkrumah's grand scheme for Ghana, everything he did, was to build a personal power machine, that the security services were exclusively at the disposal of the President and were the backbone of this machine, that the C.P.P. had been stripped of all power and initiative as thoroughly as the rest of the state apparatus, that the country was run from start to finish from the President's office in Flagstaff House, and by the end of 1962 control over all principal pressure points in the state was in Nkrumah's hands. Much of the evidence, as Ghana and Africa and the independence struggle everywhere has learned to its cost, is indisputable. The problem is to understand *how* and *why* much (not all) of this happened; to analyse events in Ghana, not just to denigrate Nkrumah or point to his feeble judgment, his insularity from the people, his tolerance of corrupt, incompetent and hypocritical colleagues, his inability to filter good from bad advice, because although all this might be satisfying to people who have worked up a personal spleen against Nkrumah, Africa can't afford to stop to work off grudges.

Bretton starts off promisingly. The political scene in developing areas, he says, should be seen as an unfolding, multi-dimensional kaleidoscopic panorama . . .

> Order, regularity and uniformity may be statistically perceptible only over a long period of time and on the basis of a larger body of evidence than is available at this juncture . . . many . . . variables have to be identified, assessed and interpreted . . . More has to be discovered about the nature and function of social change. Most crucial to an increase in knowledge concerning political behaviour is a heightened concern with man, with the real actors in politics and the real motivational forces.

Promising talk, this, about 'real motivational forces', 'the real actors in politics'. But in this book which Bretton presents as 'a political analysis of core factors' . . . it all comes down to a study of *one factor*, and indeed *one man*, Kwame Nkrumah. It's extraordinary that the writer takes such trouble over a recipe and then refuses to cook his book by it. This is not an attempt to deny that Nkrumah made grievous errors, that his role is indeed absolutely crucial, but surely even Nkrumah's actions and failures must be considered *in the situation of Ghana*, and putting it all down to the nefarious power ambitions of one man is more simplist a view of cause and effect in history than Marxism has ever been accused of by its most ardent critic.

As an attempt, anyway, to use some theory of the psychology of power to dissect a leader 'gone mad with power', this is a pretty feeble attempt. The picture of Nkrumah is a pastiche of other peoples'

quotations and hearsay and gossipy accounts, with some pretty gratuitous insults levelled at non-Ghanaians who worked in Ghana, men like Thomas Hodgkin who was one of the few academics who did not abandon his belief in socialism because Nkrumah fell, and did not leap gratefully into the lap of a Kotoka, Afrifa, Ankrah, Harrley, or Busia (who has scrutinised *their* motives?)—anyone rather than a man trying to find a way of pursuing a socialist policy in Africa.

Bretton makes a grudging concession to the situation in which the Nkrumah policy had to work. 'All one could really say for Nkrumah and his regime was that he deserved the benefit of the doubt in view of the situation he had inherited.' This is meant to be valid for the opening years of Ghana's independence. But this colonial inheritance is then allowed to drop out of the picture. Not that one can go on indefinitely or solely putting it all down to colonial legacies. But how dispose so lightly of the problem of where Nkrumah was to find bases of support for building socialism? The early sources of his support were the primary school graduates of the C.P.P. independence-campaigning days; then the market women who ran the mammy wagons and dominated the distribution trade, who traded their support of Nkrumah for material benefits and when these dried up, withdrew their support. Clearly Nkrumah bungled his relations with militant trade union leaders; and as for the C.P.P. it is only too sadly evident that this was no mass popular mobilisation. Bretton admits that the 'National Liberation Movement' posed a serious threat, as did the entire Ashanti region, the source of the major share of Ghana's export earnings which was controlled by the country's most cohesive and compact, best administered and politically most aggressive tribal organisation; that in fact several of the parties in opposition to the C.P.P. had a regional, tribal base, and that chiefs had always advocated regionalism because this maintained the tribal structure.

But when Nkrumah acts against sources of danger, according to Bretton, he is acting not to defend the principles of his policy, but to arrogate power for himself.

The arrogation of presidential power, the stifling or discouragement of popular mobilisation is far from a uniquely Ghanaian or Nkrumah phenomenon; it is happening all over Africa from Houphouet-Boigny to Haile Selassie. It was not for this that reaction hated Nkrumah but because he dedicated himself to socialism, made friends with and took help from the Soviet Union, had a few academics from the universities of socialist countries as well as the usual swarm of Western academics, and sin of all sins, tried to construct and live by an ideology.

Bretton takes this business of the 'arrogation of power' to rather

absurd lengths. He states that on independence the lion's share of the economic control apparatus was in non-African hands, that to change this was the highest priority. Export and import trade, banking, insurance, transport and communications were essentially in expatriate (i.e. British) hands and the country's major source of foreign exchange, cocoa, was securely tied in a maze of international financial, marketing and processing arrangements. This is all Bretton's description. But when Nkrumah acted in the economic field, he then argues, it was to feed his 'personal power machine'. The fact that 47 state enterprises were created and that 70 per cent of those in employment were in the public services means to Bretton that they were all, workers and economy, at the personal disposal of the President.

This is a crudity of analysis even for Bretton. Even when Nkrumah tries to shake up Parliament and insist that every M.P. should be in regular employment, this is part of the pernicious system of power for the President.

What makes Bretton tick? He tells us he identifies with the African revolution, its broad social and humanitarian objectives, anyway, he adds by way of reservation, but that he feels that Western intellectuals slipped into a state of myopic and uncritical sentimentality. If such people are looking for an African revolution that will hold course they will have to be made of sterner stuff than this, diving from myopic sentimentality to hysterical and guilt-laden accusation. If he intends to write critically to help Africa and he feels that non-criticism leads to a state of intellectual quarantine, he will have to try to make his criticism less superficial and waspish, and closer to the core of what makes a political system work or fail.

But there are other motives here. Bretton comes back again and again to the ideological concern of Nkrumah and his so-called advisers whose ideological concerns 'extended considerably beyond Ghana'. Nkrumah committed the future of Ghana to 'extraneous political goals'. Growing even franker and quoting Schlesinger (Arthur M. of the Kennedy stable and author of *1,000 Days*) 'Nkrumah's personal rule removed Ghana from the "world of choice" where governments make decisions and people take options from a range of possible alternatives, to a world of little or no choice'. Bretton's option is capitalism, Nkrumah's tried to be socialism.

This is why, for all the hard work of hunting quotations and examples that Bretton has done, his criticism is pretty useless for anyone interested in discovering why the Nkrumah regime collapsed. Did it not fail because it did not, could not, at this stage of development of the country, forge the necessary instruments of socialist transformation; did not try, as Nasser has been trying in Egypt, true also in the face

of opposition, to change the class structure of the countryside, to guarantee a certain percentage of worker and peasant representation on key bodies? Did the Ghana government never manage, as Fitch and Oppenheimer have suggested, in a far more serious and valuable critique (*Monthly Review*, July-August 1966) to break with the old path of colonial economics? *Could* any party like the C.P.P. reflect a determinate economic class, and if not, from where were the sources of support for socialism to be drawn? These are the real problems about Ghana—and other African countries—and here Bretton helps not at all.

J.G.

Inventory of African Writing

The Literature and Thought of Modern Africa, by Claude Wauthier (Pall Mall Press, London, 35s. cloth, 11s. 6d. paperback).

FROM BRETTON'S FIERCELY slanted treatment of too narrowly focused a problem, to Claude Wauthier who has compiled an encyclopedic review of African expression on everything under the sun from religion, linguistics and poetry to classes and revolution, all this in deadpan, almost almanac, style.

This is a revised version of an earlier French edition *L'Afrique des Africains: Inventaire de la Négritude* and an 'inventory' it certainly is, with the closing date for the study May 1963, the founding date of the O.A.U. It cites the works of some 150 writers (many of them politician-writers like Senghor and Fanon and Majhemout Diop to mention only a few), from slaves to the members of the intellectual élite founded under colonial regimes. The early chapters show that the demand for national independence in Africa as elsewhere throughout history has gone hand in hand with cultural revival. The grammarians forging a national language from a dialect, the historians substituting the history of an emergent nation for that of a series of dynasties, the poets exalting a revolutionary struggle are all aspects of the fight for independence. Even, says Wauthier, the work of the African anthropologists and the collectors of legends and proverbs for:

> . . . all seek to give back to Africa a pride in her past, to assert the value of African cultures, to reject a cultural assimilation. Pride in the past is the first weapon. If the coloniser bases his right of conquest principally on a civilising mission, pre-supposing the African's inferiority, then he must be fought on his own ground and shown that the African is in no way his intellectual inferior.

So it was that *Présence Africaine* conferences in Paris and Rome proclaimed their manifesto: (1) No nation without a culture (2) No culture without a past and (3) No authentic cultural liberation without political liberation first.

Wauthier refers several times to another study of African writing, this by Lilyan Kesteloot who argued in her thesis that African writers have produced original works only when they have been politically committed. But it is above all Frantz Fanon whose quotations burst out of these pages. The colonised intellectual going back to the origins of his race seeks a defence against assimilation and a desperate effort to renew contact with his people; but Fanon argues that the 'negritude' approach, this historical obligation on the African cultural élite to make their claims racial, will lead them to a dead end. Negritude has been a necessary stage for the intellectual of the colonies who otherwise ran the risk of becoming stateless and rootless, argued Fanon. But 'when the intellectual has reached the climax of his infatution with his people, as they are and as they were, and decides to return to everyday life, he comes back from his excursion with material which is . . . unproductive . . . his unhappy forced search recalls only a banal quest for the exotic'. Fanon proposes a literature which is integral to the revolutionary struggle.

Wauthier points out with some significance that this criticism of negritude is that not only of Fanon, but also of Ezekhiel Mphahlele: 'Thus both writers have felt the need, in the dramatic situation of the people to whom they belong . . . of a particularly active solidarity in the real and blazing terrain of daily combat. For them when the blood ran in Sharpeville and Algeria, an academic pilgrimage back to their negro origins was less indispensable than efficiency in the fight and in the field of protest'.

Fanon has gone further. The colonised intellectual, he accuses, has channelled his aggression into a thinly veiled desire for assimilation into the colonial world. In the era of independence he turns his aggression (the desire for vengeance on colonialism) against his own people. After independence this turns into inter-tribal or inter-territorial rivalry. Wherever the national bourgeoisie has gained power

> We witness a withdrawal to tribalist positions, we witness, with rage in our hearts, the triumph of exacerbated racial differences.
> The only policy of the bourgeoisie is to replace the foreigners, and in all sectors, to step into their shoes as quickly as possible, and take the law into their own hands . . .

Wauthier has done a skilful distillation of everyone's views which makes a useful starting point for finding your way around, but it all has a rather pre-digested air about it; an air, too, of accommodation of all opinions rather than a judgment by the writer on any issue; and as with all inventories, however tidy and neatly classified, the reading becomes a little tedious. J.G.

MAJOR NZEOGWU'S LAST WORDS

ONE OF THE first casualties of the fratricidal conflict in Nigeria was Major Chukwuma Kaduna Nzeogwu, the leader of the young officers who put an end to the corrupt neo-colonialist regime in the historic action of January 15th, 1966. Major Nzeogwu was killed in a clash with Federal troops at Obolo-Eke, East Nigeria. Although he died in action against its forces, the Federal Military Government paid respect to his memory by according him a burial with full military honours at his birthplace, Kaduna, on August 2nd.

The last known statement of Major Nzeogwu was in the form of a letter to Dr. Otegbeye on the eve of Eastern secession, with a postscript the day after. We publish herewith, from the *Advance*, the text of his letter, and the reply.

Enugu, May 30th, 1967.

DEAR TUNJI,

I am writing you at a momentous occasion in our country's history but with sadness at the turn of events in the political arena. Whilst the forces of progress are being knocked about by the whims of reactionary nationalism, I have hopes in the determined efforts of the progressive peoples of this country to forge a strong and united nation.

It is regrettable that we were not given an opportunity to talk over these subjects but that, as you would have picked up through rumours, was the result of my fall from grace for the ideals which I preach and

hold highest. In spite of this apparent eclipse, the verdict of the people appear to be in accord with our progressive wishes.

The control of all information media by the local capitalists and national bourgeoisie, who manipulate our feuding warlords, has sublimated the political sins of national disintegration and a return to the tribe.

My sadness lies in the fact that our camp is in disarray and that our control of the information media is nil; our contact with the masses is apparent not real and our general efforts are academic not pragmatic. In our lethargy, we shall be witnesses to the rending asunder of the national fabric and the biting away of large chunks of our territory by monarchs of reaction and tribal mob leaders.

I do realise that each component portion of our hapless federation is in itself a little federation. This is all the more reason why the solution of the problem of nationalities should have been tackled in the same manner as the U.S.S.R. dealt with its own nationalities. We must continue to preach this idea in preparation for the day that the people can truly liberate themselves through a popular revolution.

Even if we become a confederation with component territories governed in the same manner as the whole republic was previously governed, the same political malaise will remain until progressive men with progressive ideas and executing progressive actions take hold of the helm of state affairs. Long live the republic.

May 31st, 1967.

With the proclamation of Independent Republic of Biafra, I am still optimistic that we can reach a reasonable solution to the emergence of extreme nationalism. I hope that this letter reaches you in spite of the sanctions and quarantine.

Long live the Republic.

In the not too distant future, we might still meet to discuss the national problems in greater detail.

Farewell countryman.

Yours truly,

CHUKWUMA.

DR. OTEGBEYE'S REPLY

DEAR CHUKWUMA,

Thank you for your letter. It is nice to read from you at this time when everything appears dim and the future of our young country is in the balance.

I want to assure you that there are thousands of progressive young men and women out here who share every inch of your vision for Nigeria.

True it is that the forces of tribal chauvinism have risen to control the affairs in the Eastern Region of our country; true still that secession has been popularised through radio and press; but every drop of information reaching us here indicates that the common people do not believe that the answer to our teething problem is the balkanisation of our Country.

I know how you feel on this matter. Living in the Eastern Region under a canopy where you are a suspect for ideas you hold dear is a great ordeal.

But what worries me and a lot of progressive persons out here is your personal safety during this trying times. I will advise that you have little or no contact with the press and the talking public who may put meaning into your genuine statements to suit their own purpose.

Where do we go from here? It will be a great pity if Nigeria should become a field for civil war. There is a great possibility of that now. The Federal Military Government is bent on crushing the 'rebellion' in the Eastern Region. That can only mean civil war. Who suffers? The innocent, poor workers and peasants of our country. For the few intellectuals and money-men who finance the propaganda of secession will hide away in secure corners, exposing the common people to bullets. Children of workers and peasants from both sides will shoot at and kill themselves in hundreds if not thousands. What a grim hope?

I love a fight. But I always want a fight where the enemy is clearly marked out.

I am of the opinion that the enemies of our great country are foreign economic interests vying to dominate the economy of our country and their local collaborators—the feudalists and pot belly, rich politicians.

What the January 15th coup did was to break the back-bone of these local collaborators and so weaken the hold of neo-colonialism on our country. Whatever may be the setback of the January 15th coup, and there are a few, Nigeria of 1967 cannot go back to that of 1965. There will never be another Sardauna and dream of northern domination has vanished into the thin air.

So strong is the irreversible effect of the January 15th coup that even the Federal Government of Gowon has to invite civilians that are known to be strongly anti-feudal to join its ranks.

We can learn a lot from the past to pave the way for the future. But what can we do right now to save the future, to save our people from further hardship and sufferings, to prevent a civil war?

It appears to me that the strong forces of a United Nigeria, against secession, have to muster enough courage to call the drift in the Eastern State to a halt. Only in this way can the progressive forces be in a position to influence the people or guide them.

The alternative is for the progressive forces to keep quiet and watch the drift. Two or three alternatives come to the open. The economic measures may so hit the common people that they revolt against the authority in the East and all of you will be classified as part of the status quo. There will be confusion and poor direction leading to loss of perspective and direction. Or the Federal Army and the Biafra Army may clash. Such a situation opens our country to greater penetration of the neo-colonialists' forces as either side has to bargain away its birthrights for immediate advantage. Such a struggle will depend on foreign support to either to side. The long drawn effect of it will be a military victory for the Federal Government which has great international backing at the moment. I do not want to kid myself that the East can resist the invasion of its territory for a long time.

It would appear to me that there may be great opportunities open to the progressives in the East to save Nigeria and create a basis for national reconciliation. You too live in the East. You know better.

I will love to read your views on this point.

Please take good care of yourself.

Best wishes,

Yours,

TUNJI.

Imperialism, Israel and the Arabs

Our Editorial Notes on this theme (African Communist *No. 30*) *drew comments, critical and otherwise, from several readers. We publish without comment extracts from two letters received; the theme is dealt with in greater detail in an article in the present issue.*

ZIAD LOUTFI, *Newcastle upon Tyne, England:*

YOU WRITE 'such ill-advised and unprincipled statements (about the "destruction of Israel" and "driving them into the sea") merely strengthened the propaganda of the Israeli ruling circles and made far more difficult the task of such genuinely anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist elements as the Israeli Communist M.P.S, Comrades Vilner and Toubi'. You also add that: 'Only along these lines can there be a future for the State of Israel, which cannot coexist with the Arab countries without abandoning its alignment with imperialism . . .'.

Lenin made it clear that the concept of a Jewish nation was mere nonsense. Therefore the very terms 'State of Israel' and 'Israeli Communists' are unscientific and anti-Marxist.

I do not think at all that Israel would ever abandon its relations with imperialism, because on these relations alone it continues to exist. Once the relationship were abandoned there would be no more Israel.

I agree completely with you that 'driving them into the sea' is an absolutely fascist idea. I am not against the Jews or any race or nation.

I am a Marxist and as such I oppose the existence of the State of Israel as an imperialist, racialist base in the Middle East. To me it does not differ at all from the racialist regime in South Africa.

HENRY WOOLFSON, *Tel Aviv:*

IN YOUR ARTICLE you do mildly criticise irresponsible elements who called for the destruction of Israel as giving propaganda ammunition to the West and alienating a lot of potential support for the Arabs. You see this as an unfortunate aspect. In Israel it is not just an aspect, it is the crux of the whole situation. Both Nasser and Atassi proclaimed before the war that their aim was to destroy the Jewish State. Shukeiry went further and said there would be no Jewish refugee problem after the war as there would not be enough Jews left to constitute a problem. The Israelis, with their memory of Hitler's genocide still fresh in their minds, could not but see this war as one of physical survival.

The fact that all the Arab states united against Israel, both the pro-imperialist Arabs and the anti-imperialist Arabs, makes nonsense of the argument that they fought an anti-imperialist war against the hand-maidens of imperialism. Their war is as they proclaimed it to be—for the destruction of the Jews.

Arab pride prevents the Arabs from recognising the existence of Israel. But peace is the crying need, not pride, and peace can only come if the people of the region are willing to discuss it and find a formula. The demand that Israel withdraw without obtaining peace is unrealistic.

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